PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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VOLUME IV.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS*, the son of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very respectable character, left behind him two sons; the one named Agis, whom he had by Lampito†, a woman of an illustrious family; the other much younger, named Agesilaus, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Melisippidas. As the crown, by law, was to descend to Agis, Agesilaus, had nothing to expect but a private station, and therefore had a common Lacedæmonian education; which, though hard in respect to diet, and full of laborious exercises, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence, Simonides is said to have called that famed city, *the man-subduing* Sparta, because it was the principal tendency of her discipline to make the citizens obedient and submissive to the laws; and she trained her youth as the colt is trained to the manage. The law does not lay the young princes, who are educated for the throne, under the same necessity. But Agesilaus was singular in this, that before he came to govern, he had learned to obey. Hence it was that he accommodated himself with a better grace to his subjects than any other of the kings; having added to his princely talents and inclinations a humane manner and popular civility.

While he was yet in one of the classes or societies of boys, Lysander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans distinguish with the name of love.

* Archidamus II.

† Lampito, or Lampido, was sister to Archidamus by the father's side. Vid. *Plat. Alcibiad.*

He was charmed with his ingenuous modesty. For, though he had a spirit above his companions, an ambition to excel, which made him unwilling to sit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuosity which could not be conquered or borne down, yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleness, where it was necessary to obey. At the same time, it appeared, that his obedience was not owing to fear, but to a principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded disgrace more than toil.

He was lame of one leg; but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the rest of his person; and the easy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the first to rally himself upon it, always made it the less regarded. Nay, that defect made his spirit of enterprise more remarkable; for he never declined, on that account, any undertaking, however difficult or laborious.

We have no portrait or statue of him. He would not suffer any to be made while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had not a commanding aspect. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulness, attended with a talent for raillery, which was expressed without any severity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable, even in age, than the young and the handsome. Theophrastus tells us, the *ephori* fined Archidamus for marrying a little woman. "She will bring us," said they, "a race of pig-"mies, instead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades, upon his quitting Sicily, came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long, before he was suspected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, the wife of Agis. Agis would not acknowledge the child which she had for his, but said it was the son of Alcibiades. Duris informs us, that the queen was not displeased at the supposition, and that she used to whisper to her women, the child should be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himself scrupled not to say, "He did not ap-"proach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from an "ambition to give kings to Sparta." However, he was obliged to fly from Sparta, lest Agis should revenge the injury. And that prince looking upon Leotychidas with

an eye of suspicion, did not take notice of him as a son. Yet, in his last sickness, Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by his tears and entreaties, to acknowledge him as such before many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this public declaration, Agis was no sooner dead, than Lysander, who had vanquished the Athenians at sea, and had great power and interest in Sparta, advanced Agesilaus to the throne; alleging that Leotychidas was a bastard, and consequently had no right to it. Indeed, the generality of the citizens, knowing the virtues of Agesilaus, and that he had been educated with them in all the severity of the Spartan discipline, joined with pleasure in the scheme.

There was then at Sparta a diviner, named Diopithes, well versed in ancient prophecies, and supposed an able interpreter of every thing relating to the gods. This man insisted, it was contrary to the divine will, that a lame man should sit on the throne of Sparta; and on the day the point was to be decided, he publicly read this oracle—

> Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire*
> Thy boasted strength impair; for other woes
> Than thou behold'st, await thee—borne away
> By the strong tide of war————

Lysander observing upon this, that if the Spartans were solicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas. For that heaven did not consider it as a matter of importance, if the king happened to have a lame foot: The thing to be guarded against, was the admission of a person who was not a genuine descendant of Hercules; for that would make the kingdom itself lame. Agesilaus added, that Neptune had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake†; ten months after which, and more, Leotychidas was born; though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during that time.

* The two legs of the Spartan constitution were the two kings, which therefore must be in a maimed and ruined state when one of them was gone. In fact, the consequence produced not a just and good monarch, but a tyrant.

† See Xenophon, Grecian Hist. book iii.

By these ways and means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put in possession of the private estate of Agis; Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing, however, that his relations by the mother's side, though men of merit, were very poor, he gave a moiety of the estate among them; by which means the inheritance procured him respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

Xenophon tells us, that by obedience to the laws of his country, Agesilaus gained so much power, that his will was not disputed. The case was this: The principal authority was then in the hands of the *ephori* and the senate. The *ephori* were annual magistrates, and the senators had their office for life. They were both appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings, as we have observed in the life of Lycurgus. The kings, therefore, had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and perpetual disputes subsisted between them. But Lysander took a different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and paid his court to them on every occasion; taking care, in all his enterprises, to set out under their auspices. If he was called, he went faster than usual: If he was upon his throne, administering justice, he rose up when the *ephori* approached: If any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox*, as marks of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown, through their support and attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their unjust pursuits. If his enemies performed any think extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it; his friends he could not correct when they did amiss. On the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, if his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathise with them, and ready to give them his assistance, if they desired it. By these means he gained the hearts of all his people.

* Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

The *ephori* saw this, and, in their fear of his increasing power, imposed a fine upon him; alleging this as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop their course, and all generation and motion would cease, by reason of that perfect harmony; so the great lawgiver infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and virtuous. He thought, that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the next proposal, without exploring each other's intentions, and without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle, and deserved not the name of harmony*. Some imagine that Homer saw this; and that he would not have made Agamemnon rejoice†, when Ulysses and Achilles contended in such opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that some great benefit would arise to their affairs in general, from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be agreed to without some exception; for violent dissensions are pernicious to a state, and productive of the greatest dangers.

Agesilaus had not been long seated on the throne, before accounts were brought from Asia, that the king of Persia was preparing a great fleet to dispossess the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very desirous to be sent again into Asia, that he might support his friends whom he had left governors and masters of the cities, and many of whom, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, were banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the greatest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have finished his preparations. At the same time he instructed his friends in Asia, to send deputies to Lacedæmon, to desire Agesilaus might be appointed to that command.

* Upon the same principle, we need not be greatly alarmed at party disputes in our own nation. They will not expire but with liberty. And such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours.

† Odyssey, lib. viii.

Agesilaus received their proposals in full assembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition they would give him thirty Spartans for his officers and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand newly enfranchised *helots*, and six thousand of the allies. All this was readily decreed through the influence of Lysander, and Agesilaus sent out with the thirty Spartans. Lysander was soon at the head of the council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but the friendship of Agesilaus, who thought the procuring him this command a greater thing than the raising him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geræstus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and passing the night there, he dreamed that a person addressed him in this manner: "You are sensible, that, since Agamemnon, none has "been appointed captain-general of all Greece, but your-"self, the king of Sparta; and you are the only person "who have arrived at that honour. Since, therefore, "you command the same people, and go against the "same enemies with him, as well as take your departure "from the same place, you ought to propitiate the god-"dess with the same sacrifice, which he offered here be-"fore he sailed."

Agesilaus at first thought of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the soothsayers. This circumstance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the vision to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddess with what a superior Being might reasonably be supposed to take pleasure in, and not imitate the savage ignorance of his predecessor; in consequence of which, he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to his own soothsayer, with orders that he should perform the ceremony, and not the person appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The first magistrates of Bœotia, incensed at this innovation, sent their officers to insist that Agesilaus should not sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of Bœotia. And the officers not only gave him such notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Agesilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in great wrath with the Thebans. Nor could he conceive any hopes of success after such an omen; on the contrary, he concluded

his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition not answer the intention.

When he came to Ephesus, the power and interest of Lysander appeared in a very obnoxious light. The gates of that minister were continually crowded, and all applications were made to him; as if Agesilaus had only the name and badges of command, to save the forms of law, and Lysander had in fact the power, and all business were to pass through his hands. Indeed, none of the generals who were sent to Asia, ever had greater sway, or were more dreaded than he; none ever served their friends more effectually, or humbled their enemies so much. These were things fresh in every one's memory; and when they compared also the plain, the mild, and popular behaviour of Agesilaus, with the stern, the short, and authoritative manner of Lysander, they submitted to the latter entirely, and attended to him alone.

The other Spartans first expressed their resentment, because their attention to Lysander made them appear rather as his ministers, than as counsellors to the king. Afterwards Agesilaus himself was piqued at it: For, though he had no envy in his nature, or jealousy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in asserting his claim to it. Besides, he was apprehensive that if any great actions were performed, it would be imputed to Lysander, on account of the superior light in which he had still been considered.

The method he took to obviate it, was this: His first step was, to oppose the counsels of Lysander, and to pursue measures different from those for which he was most earnest. Another step was to reject the petitions of all who appeared to apply to him through the interest of that minister. In matters too, which were brought before the king in a judicial way, those against whom Lysander exerted himself, were sure to gain their cause; and they for whom he appeared, could scarce escape without a fine. As these things happened not casually, but constantly and of set purpose, Lysander perceived the cause, and concealed it not from his friends. He told them, it was on his account they were disgraced, and desired them to pay their court to the king, and to those who had greater interest with him than himself. These proceedings seemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the

king: Agesilaus, therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver; and we are told, he said before a large company, "Now let them go and pay their court "to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, said, "Agesilaus, you know very well how to lessen your "friends." Agesilaus answered, "I know very well "who want to be greater than myself." "But perhaps," said Lysander, "that has rather been so represented to "you, than attempted by me. Place me, however, where "I may serve you, without giving you the least umbrage."

Upon this, Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont, where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian, in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks, with a considerable treasure, and two hundred horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and nourishing the remembrance of the affront he had received, considered how he might deprive the two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta*, and open the way to that high station to all the citizens. And it seems that he would have raised great commotions in pursuit of his revenge, if he had not been killed in his expedition into Bœotia. Thus, ambitious spirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community: For if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unreasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have known other methods to correct the fault of a man of his character and spirit. But, under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and undertook by treaty, that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws; but afterwards thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event very agreeable to Agesilaus: He hoped great things from this expedition†; and he considered it as a circumstance which would re-

* The Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ.

† He told the Persian ambassadors, "He was much obliged to "their master for the step he had taken, since by the violation of "his oath he had made the gods enemies to Persia, and friends to "Greece."

flect dishonour upon himself, that Xenophon could conduct ten thousand Greeks from the heart of Asia to the sea, and beat the king of Persia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he, at the head of the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, could not distinguish himself before the Greeks by some great and memorable stroke.

To revenge, therefore, the perjury of Tisaphernes by an artifice which justice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when the barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned short, and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities; and made himself master of immense treasures; by which he showed his friends, that to violate a treaty is to despise the gods; whilst to deceive an enemy is not only just but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleasure. But as he was inferior in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Ephesus, to raise that sort of troops which he wanted. The method he took was, to insist that every man of substance, if he did not choose to serve in person, should provide a horse and a man*. Many accepted the alternative; and, instead of a parcel of indifferent combatants, such as the rich would have made, he soon got a numerous and respectable cavalry: For those who did not choose to serve at all, or not to serve as horse, hired others who wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he professedly imitated Agamemnon, who for a good mare excused a dastardly rich man the service†.

One day he ordered his commissaries to sell the prisoners, but to strip them first. Their clothes found many

* Ψιλων ὁπλιτων, the present corrupt reading, should be altered from a passage in the Apophthegms (Ed. St. p. 369.) to δειλων και πλουσιων. The passage is this—ὡς ταχυ συνηχθησαν και ἱπποι και ανδρες επιηδειοι ανθι ΔΕΙΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΝ.

† Then Menelaus his Podargus brings,
And the fam'd courser of the king of kings;
Whom rich Echepolus (more rich than brave)
To 'scape the wars, to Agamemnon gave,
(Æthe her name) at home to end his days,
Base wealth preferring to eternal praise. *Pope*, Il. xxiii.

Thus Scipio, when he went to Africa, ordered the Sicilians, either to attend him, or to give him horses or men.

purchasers; but as to the prisoners themselves, their skins being soft and white, by reason of their having lived so much within doors, the spectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no service as slaves. Whereupon Agesilaus, who stood by at the auction, said to his troops: "These are the persons whom ye fight with;" and then pointing to the rich spoils, "Those are the "things ye fight for."

When the season called him into the field again, he gave it out that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tisaphernes: that general deceived himself. For, giving no heed to the declarations of Agesilaus, because he had been imposed upon by them before, he concluded he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which his strength did not lie. Agesilaus, as he had proposed, went and sat down on the plains of Sardis, and Tisaphernes was forced to march thither in great haste with succours. The Persian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks, who were scattered up and down for plunder. Agesilaus, however, considered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up, whereas he had all his forces about him; and therefore resolved to give battle immediately. Pursuant to this resolution, he mixed his light armed foot with the horse, and ordered them to advance swiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops, which would not be far behind. The barbarians were soon put to flight; the Greeks pursued them, took their camp, and killed great numbers.

In consequence of this success, they could pillage the king's country in full security, and had all the satisfaction to see Tisaphernes, a man of abandoned character, and one of the greatest enemies to their name and nation, properly punished. For the king immediately sent Tithraustes against him, who cut off his head. At the same time he desired Agesilaus to grant him peace, promising him large sums,* on condition that he would evacuate his dominions. Agesilaus answered, "His country was the sole arbitress

* He promised also to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the established tribute; and he hoped (he said) that this condescension would persuade Agesilaus to accept the peace, and to return home; the rather, because Tisaphernes, who was guilty of the first breach, was punished as he deserved.

" of peace. For his own part, he rather chose to enrich his " soldiers than himself; and the great honour among the " Greeks, was to carry home spoils, and not presents from " their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithraustes, for destroying Tisaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, taking thirty talents of that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the *scytale* from the magistrate of Lacedæmon, which invested him with the command of the navy as well as army; an honour which that city never granted to any one but himself. He was, indeed (as Theopompus somewhere says), confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue than his power. Notwithstanding, there was this flaw in his character: when he had the conduct of the navy given him, he committed that charge to Pisander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pisander was his wife's brother, and, in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies. From thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew Cotys, the king of that country, into his interest, who had been some time desirous of such a connection, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, who was the first person of consequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and took a share in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son, a handsome youth, for whom Agesilaus had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he married to Cotys. Cotys gave him a thousand horse, and two thousand men, draughted from his light-armed troops, and with these he returned to Phrygia.

Agesilaus committed great ravages in that province; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppose him, or trust his own garrisons. Instead of that, he took his most valuable things with him, and moved from place to place, to avoid a battle. Spithridates, however, watched him so narrowly, that, with the assistance of Herippidas,* the

* Herippidas was at the head of the new council of thirty, sent to Agesilaus the second year of the war.

Spartan, at last he made himself master of his camp, and all his treasures. Herippidas, made it his business to examine what part of the baggage was secreted, and compelled the barbarians to restore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen eye into every thing. This provoked Spithridates to such a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

There was nothing in the whole war that touched Agesilaus more nearly than this. Beside the pain it gave him, to think he had lost Spithridates, and a considerable body of men with him, he was ashamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanness, from which he had ever studied to keep both himself and his country. These were causes of uneasiness that might be publicly acknowledged; but he had a private and more sensible one, in his attachment to the son of Spithridates; though while he was with him, he made it a point to combat that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to salute him, and Agesilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more distant in his addresses. Then Agesilaus was sorry for the repulse he had given him, and pretended to wonder why Megabates kept at such a distance. His friends told him, he must blame himself for rejecting his former application. "He would still," said they, "be glad to pay his most obliging respects to you; but "take care you do not reject them again." Agesilaus was silent some time; and when he had considered the thing, he said, "Do not mention it to him. For this "second victory over myself gives me more pleasure "than I should have in turning all I look upon to gold." This resolution of his held while Megabates was with him; but he was so much affected at his departure, that it is hard to say how he would have behaved, if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus desired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, at whose house they had both been entertained, procured an interview. Agesilaus came first to the place appointed, with his friends, and sat down upon the long grass under a shade, to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Persian grandee came, his servants spread soft skins and beautiful pieces of tapestry for him; but, upon seeing Agesilaus so seated, he was ashamed to make use of them, and placed himself carelessly upon

the grass in the same manner, though his robes were delicate, and of the finest colours.

After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had just cause of complaint against the Lacedæmonians, after the services he had done them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country; Agesilaus saw the Spartans were at a loss for an answer, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew that Pharnabazus was injured. However, the Spartan general found an answer, which was as follows: "While "we were friends to the king of Persia, we treated him "and his in a friendly manner: now we are enemies, you "can expect nothing from us but hostilities. Therefore, "while you, Pharnabazus, choose to be a vassal to the "king, we wound him through your sides. Only be a "friend and ally to the Greeks, and shake off that vassal-"age, and from that moment you have a right to con-"sider these battalions, these arms and ships, in short, all "that we are or have, as guardians of your possessions "and your liberty; without which nothing is great or "desirable among men*."

Pharnabazus then explained himself in these terms: "If "the king sends another lieutenant in my room, I will be "for you; but while he continues me in the government, "I will, to the best of my power, repel force with force, "and make reprisals upon you for him." Agesilaus, charmed with this reply, took his hand, and rising up with him, said, "Heaven grant that with such sentiments as "these, you may be our friend, and not our enemy!"

As Pharnabazus and his company were going away, his son, who was behind, ran up to Agesilaus, and said, with a smile, "Sir, I enter with you into the rights of hospita-"lity:" At the same time he gave him a javelin which he had in his hand. Agesilaus received it; and, delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for something handsome to give a youth of his princely appearance in return. His secretary Adæus happening to have a horse with magnificent furniture just by, he ordered it to be taken off and given to the young man. Nor did he forget him afterwards. In process of time this Persian was driven from

* He added, "However, if we continue at war, I will, for the future avoid your territories as much as possible, and rather forage and raise contributions in any other province." *Xen. Grec. War*, b. iv.

his home by his brothers, and forced to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him on all occasions. The Persian had a favourite in the wrestling-ring at Athens, who wanted to be introduced at the Olympic games; but as he was past the proper age, they did not choose to admit him*. In this case the Persian applied to Agesilaus, who, willing to oblige him in this as well as other things, procured the young man the admission he desired, though not without much difficulty.

Agesilaus, indeed, in other respects, was strictly and inflexibly just; but where a man's friends were concerned, he thought a rigid regard to justice a mere pretence.—There is still extant a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said. "If Nicias "is innocent, acquit him: If he is not innocent, acquit "him on my account: However, be sure to acquit him."

Such was the general character of Agesilaus as a friend. There were, indeed, times when his attachments gave way to the exigencies of state. Once being obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earnestly entreated him to come back; upon which he turned and said, "How little consistent are love and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the upper provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, his moderation, was the theme they dwelt upon with pleasure. Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity; and whereas, on many occasions, we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the gods inspectors and witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of soldiers as he had, there was scarce one who had a worse or a harder bed than he. He was so fortified against heat and cold, that none was so well prepared as himself for whatever seasons the climate should produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle, than when the Persian governors and generals, who

* Sometimes boys had a share in these exhibitions, who, after a certain age were excluded the lists.

had been insufferably elated with power, and had rolled in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and upon one laconic word, conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought that line of Timotheus applicable on this occasion—

MARS is the god; and Greece reveres not GOLD.

All Asia was now ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police, without putting to death or banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting at his ease there, to bribe the orators, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him, that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the *ephori* had sent him orders to come home and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! barbarians to each other!

What better name can we give that envy which incited them to conspire and combine for their mutual destruction, at a time when Fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the barbarians! and yet they clipped her wings with their own hands, and brought the war home to themselves, which was happily removed into a foreign country*. I cannot, indeed, agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he says, those Greeks fell short of a great happiness, who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had just cause for tears, when they considered that they left that to Alexander and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by the generals whom they slew in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth and Arcadia.

* That corruption which brought the states of Greece to take Persian gold, undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we must take leave to observe, that the divisions and jealousies which reigned in Greece were the support of its liberties, and that Persia was not conquered, till nothing but the shadow of these liberties remained. Were there, indeed, a number of little independent states which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm, from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

However, of all the actions of Agesilaus, there is none which had greater propriety, or was a stronger instance of his obedience to the laws, and justice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Hannibal, though his affairs were in a desperate condition, and he was almost beaten out of Italy, made a difficulty of obeying the summons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander made a jest of the information he received, that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater: He said, "It seems, my friends, that while we were con-"quering Darius here, there was a combat of mice in "Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the respect which Agesilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No sooner was the *scytale* brought him, though in the midst of his power and good fortune, than he resigned and abandoned his flourishing prospects, sailed home and left his great work unfinished. Such was the regret his friends as well as allies had for the loss of him, that it was a strong confutation of the saying of Demostratus the Phæacian, "That the Lacedæmonians excelled in public, "and the Athenians in private characters:" For, though he had great merit as a king and a general, yet still he was a more desirable friend, and an agreeable companion.

As the Persian money had the impression of an archer, he said, "He was driven out of Asia by ten thousand of "the king's archers*." For the orators of Athens and Thebes having been bribed with so many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms against Sparta.

When he had crossed the Hellespont he marched thro' Thrace without asking leave of any of the barbarians. He only desired to know of each people, "Whether they "would have him pass as a friend or as an enemy?" All the rest received him with tokens of friendship, and shewed him all the civilities in their power on his way; but the Trallians†, of whom Xerxes is said to have bought a

* Tithraustus sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon, Athens had no share in that distribution.

† Besides the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Illyricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia. So at least, according to Dacier, Theopompus (ap. Steph.) testifies. One of the MSS. instead of Τραλλεις, gives us Τραχαλεις. In *Op. Mor.* 373. 21. they are called Τραδεις. Possibly it might be the Triballi.

passage, demanded of Agesilaus a hundred talents of silver, and as many women. He answered the messenger ironically, "Why did not they then come to receive them?" At the same time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great slaughter.

He sent some of his people to put the same question to the king of Macedon, who answered, "I will consider "of it." "Let him consider," said he; "in the mean "time we march." The king, surprised and awed by his spirit, desired him to pass as a friend.

The Thessalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and therefore he laid waste their territories. To the city of Larissa, indeed, he offered his friendship, by his ambassadors, Xenocles and Scytha: but the people seized them and put them in prison. His troops so resented this affront, that they would have had him go and lay siege to the place. Agesilaus, however, was of another mind. He said, "He would not lose one of his ambas-"sadors for gaining all Thessaly;" and he afterwards found means to recover them by treaty. Nor are we to wonder that Agesilaus took this step, since, upon news being brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were suddenly taken off, but that the loss of the Spartans was small in comparison of that of the enemy, he was not elevated in the least. On the contrary, he said with a deep sigh, "Un-"happy Greece! why hast thou destroyed so many brave "men with thy own hands, who, had they lived, might "have conquered all the barbarians in the world!"

However, as the Pharsalians attacked and harassed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horse, and put them to flight. He was so much pleased with this success, that he erected a trophy under Mount Narthacium; and he valued himself the more upon it, because with so small a number of his own training, he had beaten people who reckoned theirs the best cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas, one of the *ephori*, met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately. And though his intention was to do it afterwards, when he had strengthened his army with some reinforcement, he thought it was not right to disobey the magistrates. He therefore said to those about him, "Now comes the day, for which we were

"called out of Asia." At the same time he sent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmonians did him the honour to cause proclamation to be made at home, that such of the youth as were inclined to go and assist the king, might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta presented themselves for that service; but the magistrates selected only fifty of the ablest, and sent them.

Agesilaus, having passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and traversed Phocis, which was in friendship with the Spartans, entered Bœotia, and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had scarce entrenched himself, when there happened an eclipse of the sun*. At the same time he received an account that Pisander was defeated at sea, and killed, by Pharnabazus and Conon. He was much afflicted with his own loss, as well as that of the public: Yet, lest his army, which was going to give battle, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered his messengers to give out that Pisander was victorious. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned solemn thanks for the pretended success, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to Coronea†, and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans also putting themselves in order of battle, placed themselves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says, that this was the most furious battle in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it for Agesilaus, with whom he returned from Asia.

The first charge was neither violent nor lasting: The Thebans soon routed the Orchomenians, and Agesilaus the Argives. But when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and ready for flight, both hastened to their relief. At this instant Agesilaus might have secured to himself the victory without any risk, if

* This eclipse happened on the twenty-ninth of August, in the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, three hundred and ninety-two years before the Christian era.

† In the printed text it is *Coronea*, nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly *Chæronea*, upon the Cephisus, was the place where the battle was fought; and we must not confound it with the battle of Coronea in Thessaly, fought fifty-three years before.

he would have suffered the Thebans to pass, and then have charged them in the rear*; but borne along by his fury, and an ambition to display his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon equal terms. They received him, however, with equal vivacity, and great efforts were exerted in all quarters, especially were Agesilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. It was a happy circumstance that he had those volunteers, and they could not have come more seasonably: For they fought with the most determined valour, and exposed their persons to the greatest dangers in his defence; yet they could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour in many places with spears and swords: and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the spot. At last finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourse to a manœuvre which at first they scorned. They opened their ranks, and let the Thebans pass; after which, observing that they marched in a disorderly manner, they made up again, and took them in flank and rear. They could not, however, break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themselves much upon the battle, because their part of the army was a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

Agesilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had seen the dead borne off upon their arms. Meantime he was informed that a party of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they should be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected, when, under the conduct of Sparton, they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmidas†.

Early next morning, Agesilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands, and the music to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of victory. At the

* Xenophon gives another turn to the matter; for with him Agesilaus was never wrong.

† In the battle of Coronea.

same time the enemy applied to him for leave to carry off their dead; which circumstance confirmed the victory to him. He, therefore, granted them a truce for that purpose, and then caused himself to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a solemn procession in honour of the god, and consecrated to him the tenth of the spoils he had taken in Asia. The offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign country, nor, in fondness for the fashions he had seen there, disdain those of his own. On the contrary, he showed as much attachment to the Spartan customs, as those who had never passed the Eurotas. He changed not his repasts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his house. He ever let his doors remain, which were so old that they seemed to be those set up by Aristodemus*. Xenophon also assures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the least richer than those of other young ladies. These carriages, called *canthra*, and made use of by the virgins in their solemn processions, were a kind of wooden chaises, made in the form of griffins, or goat-stags†. Xenophon has not given us the name of this daughter of Agesilaus: and Dicæarchus is greatly dissatisfied, that neither her name is preserved, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas. But we find by some Lacedæmonian inscriptions, that the wife of Agesilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters Apolia and Prolyta‡. We see also at Lacedæmon the spear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he observed that many of the citizens valued themselves upon breeding horses for the Olympic games, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot race in person. This

* Aristodemus, the son of Hercules, and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flourished eleven hundred years before the Christian era; so that the gates of Agesilaus's palace, if set up by Aristodemus, had then stood seven hundred and eight years.

† In the original, τραγελαφων. Cervorum est specie tragelaphus barba tantum et armorum villo distans. *Plin.*

‡ Eupolia and Proauga. *Cod. Vulcob.*

he did, to show the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not depend upon any extraordinary spirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expence.

Xenophon, so famed for wisdom, spent much of his time with him, and he treated him with great respect. He also desired him to send for his sons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the best knowledge in the world, the knowing how to command, and how to obey.

After the death of Lysander, he found out a conspiracy, which that general had formed against him immediately after his return from Asia. And he was inclined to show the public what kind of man Lysander really was, by exposing an oration found among his papers, which had been composed for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus, and was to have been delivered by him to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was meditating in the constitution. But one of the senators having the perusal of it, and finding it a very plausible composition, advised him "not to dig Lysander out of his grave, but rather to "bury the oration with him." The advice appeared reasonable, and he suppressed the paper.

As for the persons who opposed his measures most, he made no open reprisals upon them; but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When invested with power, they soon showed what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and in consequence were called to account for their proceedings. Then he used to assist them in their distress, and labour to get them acquitted; by which he made them friends and partisans instead of adversaries; so that at last he had no opposition to contend with: For his royal colleague Agesipolis*, being the son of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modest disposition, interfered not much in the affairs of government. Agesilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. The two kings, when they were in Sparta, eat at the same table. Agesilaus knew that Agesipolis was open to the impressions of love as well as himself, and therefore constantly turned the conversation upon some amiable young person. He even assisted him in his views that way, and brought him at last to fix upon the same favourite with himself. For at Sparta there is nothing criminal in these

* Agesipolis was the son of Pausanias.

attachments; on the contrary (as we have observed in the life of Lycurgus), such love is productive of the greatest modesty and honour, and its characteristic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

Agesilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the address to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, appointed admiral. After which, he marched against Corinth* with his land-forces, and took the long walls: Teleutias assisting his operations by sea. The Argives, who were then in possession of Corinth, were celebrating the Isthmian games: and Agesilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the sacrifice, drove them away, and seized upon all that they had prepared for the festival. The Corinthian exiles who attended him, desired him to undertake the exhibition, as president; but not choosing that, he ordered them to proceed with the solemnity, and stayed to guard them. But when he was gone, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and some who had gained the prize before, had the same good fortune a second time; others who were victorious then, were now in the list of the vanquished. Lysander took the opportunity to remark how great the cowardice of the Argives must be, who, while they reckoned the presidency at those games so honourable a privilege, did not dare to risk a battle for it. He was, indeed, of opinion, that a moderate regard for this sort of diversions was best, and applied himself to embellish the choirs and public exercises of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his presence, and supported them with great zeal and spirit, never missing any of the exercises of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, so much admired by the world, he seemed not even to know them.

One day Callipedes, who had acquired great reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was universally caressed, approached and paid his respects to him; after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting

* There were two expeditions of Agesilaus against Corinth; Plutarch in this place confounds them; whereas Xenophon, in his fourth book, has distinguished them very clearly. The enterprise in which Teleutias assisted, did not succeed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, kept Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of Agesilaus's resentment.

he would take some honourable notice of him. At last he said, "Do not you know me, Sir?" The king casting his eyes upon him, answered slightly, "Are you not Cal-"lipedes the stage-player?" Another time, being asked to go and hear a man who mimicked the nightingale to great perfection, he refused, and said, "I have heard the "nightingale herself."

Menecrates the physician, having succeeded in some desperate cases, got the surname of Jupiter. And he was so vain of the appellation, that he made use of it in a letter to the king. "Menecrates Jupiter to king Agesilaus, "health." His answer began thus: "King Agesilaus to "Menecrates, his senses."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno: and as he stood looking upon the soldiers who were carrying off the prisoners and the spoils, ambassadors came from Thebes with proposals of peace. He had ever hated the city; and now thinking it necessary to express his contempt for it, he pretended not to see the ambassadors, nor to hear their address, though they were before him. Heaven, however, revenged the affront. Before they were gone, news was brought him, that a battalion of Spartans was cut in pieces by Iphicrates. This was one of the greatest losses his country had sustained for a long time: and beside being deprived of a number of brave men, there was this farther mortification, that their heavy-armed soldiers were beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedæmonians by mercenaries.

Agesilaus immediately marched to their assistance; but finding it too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, and acquainted the Bœotian ambassadors that he was ready to give them audience. Glad of the opportunity to return the insult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only desired a safe conduct to Corinth. Agesilaus, provoked at the demand, answered, "If you are desirous "to see your friends in the elevation of success, to-morrow "you shall do it with all the security you can desire." Accordingly, the next day, he laid waste the territories of Corinth, and taking them with him, advanced to the very walls. Thus having shown the ambassadors, that the Corinthians did not dare to oppose him, he dismissed them: then he collected such of his countrymen as had escaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon;

taking care every day to move before it was light, and to encamp after it was dark, to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the Achæans*, he led his forces, along with theirs, into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty, and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands. But he said, "The step he should take, would be the very "reverse; for they would be more afraid of war, when "they had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion. Next year, as soon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had made themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of Laconia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, on this occasion, acted an infamous part to the Greeks in Asia; and delivered up those cities to the king of Persia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had fought. No part of the dishonour, indeed, fell upon Agesilaus. Antalcidas was his enemy, and he hastened the peace by all the means he could devise, because he knew the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told, "the Lacedæmonians were turning Medes," he said, "No; the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he forced them to accept the king's terms, by threatening them with war†.

* The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which before had belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it. But the Achæans applied to the Lacedæmonians for succours, who employed Agesilaus in that business. *Xen. Gr. Hist.* book iv.

† The king of Persia's terms were: That the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; and that such as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to admit it by force of arms. *Xen. Ælian.* lib. v.

This peace of Antalcidas was made in the year before Christ, 387.

His view in this was, to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the conditions, that the cities of Bœothia should be free and independent. The subsequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas, in the most unjustifiable manner, had seized the citadel of Cadmea in time of full peace, the Greeks in general expressed their indignation; and many of the Spartans did the same, particularly those who were at variance with Agesilaus. These asked him in an angry tone, "By whose orders Phœbidas "had done so unjust a thing?" hoping to bring the blame upon him. He scrupled not to say, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You should examine the tendency of the action; con- "sider whether it is advantageous to Sparta. If its na- "ture is such, it was glorious to do it without any or- "ders." Yet in his discourse he was always magnifying justice, and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Unsupported by justice," said he, "valour was good for "nothing*; and, if all men were just, there would be no "need of valour." If any one, in the course of conversation, happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the "great king;" he would answer, "How is he greater "than I, if he is not more just?" Which implies a maxim indisputably right, that justice is the royal instrument by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Persia sent him a letter, whose purport was to propose a private friendship, and the rights of hospitality between them; but he declined it. He said, "The public friendship "was sufficient; and while that lasted, there was no need "of a private one."

Yet he did not regulate his conduct by these honourable sentiments: on the contrary, he was often carried away by his ambition and resentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans, he not only screened Phœbidas from punishment, but persuaded the Spartan commonwealth to join in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themselves, and putting the Theban administration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to

* This is not the only instance in which we find it was a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be strictly just in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleases in a public one, provided his country is a gainer by it.

Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to suspect, that though Phœbidas was the instrument, the design was formed by Agesilaus, and the subsequent proceedings confirmed it beyond contradiction: For when the Athenians had expelled the garrison*, and restored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war against the latter for putting to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called *polemarchs*, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus†, who upon the death of Agesipolis succeeded to the throne, was sent with an army into Bœotia: For Agesilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and consequently excused from service by law, was very willing to decline this commission. Indeed, as he had lately made war upon the Phliasians in favour of exiles, he was ashamed now to appear in arms against the Thebans for tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party that opposed Agesilaus, lately appointed governor of Thespiæ. He wanted neither courage nor ambition, but he was governed rather by sanguine hopes than good sense and prudence. This man, fond of a great name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had distinguished himself in the lists of fame by his Theban enterprise, was persuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if without any directions from his superiors he could seize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the sea, by a sudden attack at land.

It is said, that this was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, first magistrates in Bœotia‡. They sent persons to him, who pretended to be much in the Spartan interest, and who by magnifying him as the only man fit for such an exploit, worked up his ambition till he undertook a thing equally unjust and detestable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with less valour, and attended with less success. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but day-light overtook him upon the plains of Thriasia. And we are told, that some light

* See *Xen. Grec. Hist.* l. v. whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenian forces.

† Cleombrotus was the youngest son of Pausanias, and brother to Agesipolis.

‡ They feared the Lacedæmonians were too strong for them, and therefore put Sphodrias upon this act of hostility against the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel.

appearing to the soldiers to stream from the temples of Eleusis, they were struck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himself lost his spirit of adventure, when he found his march could no longer be concealed; and having collected some trifling booty, he returned with disgrace to Thespiæ.

Hereupon, the Athenians sent deputies to Sparta, to complain of Sphodrias; but they found the magistrates had proceeded against him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capital prosecution. He had not dared to appear and take his trial; for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were ashamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to resent the injury as done to themselves, rather than have it thought that they had joined in so flagrant an act of injustice.

Sphodrias had a son named Cleonymus, young and handsome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to suppose, shared in all the uneasiness of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to appear openly in his behalf, because Sphodrias had been a strong adversary to Agesilaus. However, as Cleonymus applied to him, and entreated him with many tears to intercede with Agesilaus, as the person whom they had most reason to dread, he undertook the commission. Three or four days passed, during which he was restrained by a reverential awe from speaking of the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in silence. At last, when the day of trial was at hand, he summoned up courage enough to say, Cleonymus was a suppliant to him for his father. Agesilaus, knowing the attachment of his son to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him against it: For Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthiest men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this case: he only said, "He would consider what "would be the consistent and honourable part for him "to act."

Archidamus, therefore, ashamed of the inefficacy of his interposition, discontinued his visits to Cleonymus, though before he used to call upon him many times in a day. Hence the friends of Sphodrias gave up the point for lost; till an intimate acquaintance of Agesilaus, named

Etymocles, in a conversation which passed between them, discovered the sentiments of that prince. He told him, "He highly disapproved that attempt of Sphodrias, yet "he looked upon him as a brave man, and was sensible "that Sparta had occasion for such soldiers as he." This was the way, indeed, in which Agesilaus constantly spoke of the cause, in order to oblige his son. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived, with how much zeal Archidamus had served him; and the friends of Sphodrias appeared with more courage in his behalf. Agesilaus was certainly a most affectionate father. It is said, when his children were small, he would join in their sports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a stick, he desired him "not to mention it, till he "was a father himself."

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the censures of the world upon Agesilaus, who, to gratify an absurd and childish inclination of his son, obstructed the course of justice, and brought his country under the reproach of such flagrant offences against the Greeks. As he found his colleague Cleombrotus* disinclined to continue the war with the Thebans, he dropped the excuse the law furnished him with, though he had made use of it before, and marched himself into Bœotia. The Thebans suffered much from his operations, and he felt the same from theirs, in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day seeing him come off wounded, thus addressed him: "The Thebans pay you "well for teaching them to fight, when they had neither "inclination nor sufficient skill for it." It is certain the Thebans were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been; after having been trained and exercised in so many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the same reason their ancient sage, Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called *Rhetræ*, forbade them to go to war with the same enemy often; namely, to prevent the enemy from learning their art.

The allies of Sparta likewise complained of Agesilans, "That it was not in any public quarrel, but from an ob-

* Xenophon says, the *ephori* thought Agesilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus. Τον υἱον has nothing to do in the text.

" stinate spirit of private resentment*, that he sought to " destroy the Thebans. For their part," they said, " they " were wearing themselves out, without any occasion, by " going in such numbers upon this or that expedition " every year, at the will of a handful of Lacedæmonians." Hereupon, Agesilaus, desirous to show them that the number of their warriors was not so great, ordered all the allies to sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. This done, the crier summoned the trades to stand up one after another; the potters first, and then the braziers, the carpenters, the masons, in short all the mechanics. Almost all the allies rose up to answer in one branch of business or other, but not one of the Lacedæmonians: for they were forbidden to learn or exercise any manual art. Then Agesilaus smiled and said, " You see, my friends, we send more warriors " into the field than you."

When he was come as far as Megara, upon his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the citadel†, he was seized with spasms and an acute pain in his right leg. It swelled immediately, the vessels were distended with blood, and there appeared all the signs of a violent inflammation. A Syracusan physician opened a vain below the ancle; upon which the pain abated; but the blood came so fast, that it was not stopped without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away, and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued a long time incapable of service.

In the mean time the Spartans met with several checks both by sea and land. The most considerable loss was at Leuctra‡, which was the first pitched battle the Thebans gained against them. Before the last mentioned action, all parties were disposed to peace, and the states of Greece

* This private resentment and enmity which Agesilaus entertained against the Thebans, went near to bring ruin both upon himself and his country.

† Xenophon (Hellan. 337, 12. Ed. St.) says, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the senate-house.

‡ Some manuscripts have it *Tegyra;* but there is no necessity to alter the received reading, though Palmer insists so much upon it; for that of Leuctra was certainly the first pitched battle in which the Thebans defeated the Athenians; and they effected it at the first career. Besides, it appears from Xenophon (Hellan. 349, 25.), that Agesilaus was not then recovered of the sickness mentioned in the text.

sent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat of it. Among these was Epaminondas, who was celebrated for his erudition and philosophy, but had as yet given no proofs of his capacity for commanding armies. He saw the other deputies were awed by the presence of Agesilaus, and he was the only one who preserved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and his propositions. He made a speech in favour not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general; in which he showed that war tended to aggrandise Sparta at the expence of the other states; and insisted that the peace should be founded upon justice and equality; because then only it would be lasting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Agesilaus perceiving that the Greeks listened to him with wonder and great attention, asked him, "Whether "he thought it just and equitable that the cities of Bœotia "should be declared free and independent?" Epaminondas, with great readiness and spirit, answered him with another question, "Do you think it reasonable that all "the cities of Laconia should be declared independent?" Agesilaus, incensed at this answer, started up, and insisted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether he agreed to "a perfect independence for Bœotia?" and Epaminondas replied as before, "On condition you put Laconia in the "same state." Agesilaus, now exasperated to the last degree, and glad of a pretence against the Thebans, struck their name out of the treaty, and declared war against them upon the spot. After the rest of the deputies had signed such points as they could settle amicably, he dismissed them; leaving others of a more difficult nature to be decided by the sword.

As Cleombrotus had then an army in Phocis, the *ephori* sent him orders to march against the Thebans. At the same time they sent their commissaries to assemble the allies, who were ill inclined to the war, and considered it as a great burden upon them, though they durst not contradict or oppose the Lacedæmonians. Many inauspicious signs and prodigies appeared, as we have observed in the life of Epaminondas; and Protheus*, the Spartan, opposed

* Protheus proposed that the Spartans should disband their army according to their engagement; that all the states should carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making

the war to the utmost of his power. But Agesilaus could not be driven from his purpose: He prevailed to have hostilities commenced; in hopes, that while the rest of Greece was in a state of freedom, and in alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he should have an excellent opportunity to chastise them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his resentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears from hence: the treaty was concluded at Lacedæmon on the fourteenth of *June*, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on the fifth of *July;* which was only twenty days after. A thousand citizens of Lacedæmon were killed there, among whom were their king Cleombrotus and the flower of their army, who fell by his side. The beautiful Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was struck down three several times, as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and rose up as often; and at last was killed with his sword in his hand*.

After the Lacedæmonians had received this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious success than Greeks had ever boasted in a battle with Greeks, the spirit and dignity of the vanquished was, notwithstanding, more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And indeed, if, as Xenophon says, " Men of merit, in their convivial conversations let

war upon such as would oppose the liberty of the cities. This, he said, would give the cause the sanction of Heaven, and the states of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it. But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for, as Xenophon adds, " It looked as if " the gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin."

* Epaminondas placed his best troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other. The former he commanded in person; to the latter he gave directions, that when they had found the enemy's charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with so much bravery, that the Spartans began to give way, especially after Cleombrotus was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thousand Spartans were killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans lost their superiority in Greece, which they had held near five hundred years.

" fall some expressions that deserve to be remarked and " preserved; certainly the noble behaviour and the ex- " pressions of such persons, when struggling with adver- " sity, claim our notice much more." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a festival, and the city was full of strangers; for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exercises in the theatre. The *ephori*, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined, and that they had lost the empire of Greece, would not suffer the sports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies or decorations of the festival to be omitted; but having sent the names of the killed to their respective families, they staid to see the exercises, the dances, and all other parts of the exhibition concluded*.

Next morning the names of the killed, and of those who survived the battle, being perfectly ascertained, the fathers and other relations of the dead, appeared in public, and embraced each other with a cheerful air, and a generous pride; while the relations of the survivors shut themselves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon business, he showed all the tokens of sorrow and humiliation, both in his speech and countenance. The difference was still more remarkable among the matrons. They who expected to receive their sons alive from the battle, were melancholy and silent; whereas those who had an account that their sons were slain, repaired immediately to the temples to return thanks, and visited each other with all the marks of joy and elevation.

The people, who were now deserted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas, in the pride of victory, would enter Peloponnesus, called to mind the oracle, which they applied again to the lameness of Agesilaus. The scruples they had on this occasion, discouraged them extremely, and they were afraid the divine displeasure had brought

* But where was the merit of all this? What could such a conduct have for its support but either insensibility, or affectation? If they found any reason to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, certainly the ruin of the state was an object sufficiently serious to call them from the pursuits of festivity! But, *Quos Jupiter perdere prius dementant:* The infatuation of ambition and jealousy drew upon them the Theban war, and it seemed to last upon them, even when they had felt its fatal consequences.

upon them the late calamity, for expelling a sound man from the throne, and preferring a lame one, in spite of the extraordinary warnings Heaven had given them against it. Nevertheless, in regard of his virtue, his authority, and renown, they looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, beside marching under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal disorder of the commonwealth. At present they were at a loss what to do with those that had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call such persons *tresantas**. In this case they did not choose to set such marks of disgrace upon them as the laws directed, because they were so numerous and powerful, that there was reason to apprehend it might occasion an insurrection: For such persons are not only excluded all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them: Any man that meets them is at liberty to strike them. They are obliged to appear in a forlorn manner, and in a vile habit, with patches of divers colours; and to wear their beards half shaved and half unshaved. To put so rigid a law as this in execution, at a time when the offenders were so numerous, and when the commonwealth had so much occasion for soldiers, was both impolitic and dangerous.

In this perplexity they had recourse to Agesilaus, and invested him with new powers of legislation: But he, without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the assembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws should sleep that day, and resume their authority the day following, and retain it for ever." By this means he preserved to the state its laws entire, as well as the obnoxious persons from infamy. Then, in order to raise the youth out of the depression and melancholy under which they laboured, he entered Arcadia at the head of them. He avoided a battle, indeed, with great care, but he took a little town of the Mantineans, and ravaged the flat country. This restored Sparta to her spirits in some degree, and gave her reason to hope that she was not absolutely lost.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to forty thousand men, exclusive of the light-armed, and those who, without arms,

* That is, *persons governed by their fears.*

followed only for plunder: For, if the whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than seventy thousand that poured into that country. Full six hundred years were elapsed since the first establishment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon, and this was the first time, in all that long period, they had seen an enemy in their territories; none ever dared to set foot in them before. But now a new scene of hostilities appeared; the confederates advanced without resistance, laying all waste with fire and sword, as far as the Eurotas, and the very suburbs of Sparta: For, as Theopompus informs us, Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with such an impetuous torrent of war: He contented himself with placing his best infantry in the middle of the city, and the other important posts; and bore the menaces and insults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand which had lighted up the war, and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought so many misfortunes.

Agesilaus was equally disturbed at the tumult and disorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backwards and forwards, expressing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madness at the shouts of the enemy, and the flames which ascended around them. He was in pain, too, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful state at his accession, and he now saw her glory wither, and his own boasts come to nothing. It seems, he had often said, "No Spartan woman ever saw the "smoke of an enemy's camp." In like manner, when an Athenian disputed with Antalcidas, on the subject of valour, and said, "We have often driven you from the "banks of the Cephisus," Antalcidas answered, "But we "never drove you from the banks of the Eurotas." Near akin to this, was the repartee of a Spartan of less note, to a man of Argos, who said, "Many of you sleep on the "plains of Argos." The Spartan answered, "But not "one of you sleeps on the plains of Lacedæmon."

Some say, Antalcidas was then one of the *ephori*, and that he conveyed his children to Cythera, in fear that Sparta would be taken. As the enemy prepared to pass the Eurotas, in order to attack the town itself, Agesilaus relinquished the other posts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the

river was much swoln with the snow which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troublesome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it at the head of his infantry. As he was passing it, somebody pointed him out to Agesilaus; who, after having viewed him for some time, only let fall this expression, " O adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but finding he could not draw down Agesilaus from the heights, he decamped, and laid waste the country.

There had long been a disaffected party in Lacedæmon, and now about two hundred of that party leagued together, and seized upon a strong post, called the *Issorium*, in which stood the temple of Diana. The Lacedæmonians wanted to have the place stormed immediately: But Agesilaus, apprehensive of an insurrection in their favour, took his cloak and one servant with him, and told them aloud, " That they had mistaken their orders. I did not order " you," said he, " to take post here, nor all in any one " place, but some there (pointing to another place), and " some in other quarters." When they heard this, they were happy in thinking their design was not discovered; and they came out, and went to several posts as he directed them. At the same time he lodged another corps in the *Issorium*, and took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this, he discovered another, and much greater conspiracy of Spartans, who met privately in a house belonging to one of them, to consider of means to change the form of government. It was dangerous either to bring them to a trial in a time of so much trouble, or to let their cabals pass without notice. Agesilaus, therefore, having consulted with the *ephori*, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever suffered in that manner before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers and of the *helots* who were enlisted, slunk away from the town, and deserted to the enemy, and this greatly discouraged his forces, he ordered his servants to go early in the morning to their quarters, and where they found any had deserted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

Historians do not agree as to the time when the Thebans quitted Laconia. Some say the winter soon forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that season, and falling off in a very disorderly manner: others affirm that the Thebans staid full three months; in which time they laid waste almost all the country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture the governors of Bœotia had sent them orders to return, there came a Spartan, named Phrixus, on the part of Agesilaus, and gave them ten talents to leave Laconia: So that, according to him, they not only executed all that they intended, but had money from the enemy to defray the expences of their return. For my part, I cannot conceive how Theopompus came to be acquainted with this particular, which other historians knew nothing of.

It is universally agreed, however, that Agesilaus saved Sparta by controuling his native passions of obstinacy and ambition, and pursuing no measures but what were safe. He could not, indeed, after the late blow, restore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accustomed to a strict and regular diet, often find one deviation from that regimen fatal, so one miscarriage brought that flourishing state to decay. Nor is it to be wondered at: Their constitution was admirably formed for peace, for virtue, and harmony; but when they wanted to add to their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquisitions which Lycurgus thought unnecessary to their happiness, they split upon that rock he had warned them to avoid.

Agesilaus now declined the service on account of his great age. But his son Archidamus, having received some succours from Dionysius the Silician tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained that which is called *the tearless battle;* for he killed great numbers of the enemy, without losing a man himself.

Nothing could afford a greater proof of the weakness of Sparta than this victory. Before, it had been so common and so natural a thing for Spartans to conquer, that on such occasions they offered no greater sacrifice than a cock; the combatants were not elated, nor those who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even when that great battle was fought at Mantinea, which Thucydides has so well described, the *ephori* presented the person who brought

them the first news of their success, with nothing but a mess of meat from the public table: But now when an account of this battle was brought, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy, and after him the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands, and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory stream out afresh. Till that hour the men were so much ashamed of the loss they had sustained, that, it is said, they could not even carry it with an unembarrassed countenance to the women.

When Epaminondas re-established Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to oppose him in the field. But it gave them great concern, and they could not look upon Agesilaus without anger, when they considered that in his reign they had lost a country full as extensive as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country whose revenues they had long called their own. For this reason, Agesilaus rejected the peace which the Thebans offered him; not choosing formally to give up to them what they were in fact possessed of. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself, through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had separated again from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. Epaminondas being apprised that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped from Tegea, in the night, unknown to the Mantineans, and took a different road to Lacedæmon, from that Agesilaus was upon; so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in this defenceless state, and have taken it with ease. But Euthynus, of Thespine, as Callisthenes relates it, or some Cretan, according to Xenophon, informed Agesilaus of the design, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long after entered it himself.

In a little time the Thebans passed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it with a vigour above his years. He saw that this was not the time (as it had been) for safe and cautious measures, but rather for

the boldest and most desperate efforts; insomuch that the means in which he had never before placed any confidence, or made the least use of, staved off the present danger, and snatched the town out of the hands of Epaminondas. He erected a trophy upon the occasion, and showed the children and the women how gloriously the Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus greatly distinguished himself that day, both by his courage and agility, flying through the bye-lanes to meet the enemy where they pressed the hardest, and every where repulsing them with his little band.

But Isadus, the son of Phœbidas, was the most extraordinary and striking spectacle, not only to his countrymen, but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his person, and just growing from a boy into a man, which is the time the human flower has the greatest charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; only he had a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he rushed out of his house, and having made his way through the combatants, he dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, striking down every man he engaged with: Yet he received not one wound himself; whether it was that Heaven preserved him in regard to his valour, or whether he appeared to his adversaries as something more than human. It is said, the *ephori* honoured him with a chaplet for the great things he had performed, but, at the same time, fined him a thousand drachmas for daring to appear without his armour.

Some days after this, there was another battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the first battalions, was very eager in the pursuit; when a Spartan, named Anticrates, turned short, and gave him a wound with a spear, according to Dioscorides, or as others say, with a sword*. And, indeed, the descendants of Anticrates are to this day called *machæriones*, *swordsmen*, in Lacedæmon. This action appeared so great, and was so acceptable to the Spartans, on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his posterity;

* Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the son of Xenophon, who, he says, was killed immediately after. But Plutarch's account seems better grounded.

one of which, named Callicrates*, now enjoys that privilege.

After this battle, and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace: But Agesilaus, under pretence that the Messenians were not a state, insisted that they should not be comprehended in the treaty. All the rest, however, admitted them to take the oath, as one of the states; and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Messenia. Agesilaus could not, therefore, be considered but as violent and obstinate in his temper, and insatiably fond of hostilities, since he took every method to obstruct the general peace, and to protract the war; though at the same time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow of his friends, and to demand unreasonable subsidies of the people. This was at a time, too, when he had the fairest opportunity to extricate himself from all his distresses. Besides, after he had let slip the power, which never before was at such a height, lost so many cities, and seen his country deprived of the superiority both at sea and land, should he have wrangled about the property and the revenues of Messene?

He lost still more reputation, by taking a command under Tachos, the Egyptian chief. It was not thought suitable to one of the greatest characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to hire out his person, to give his name and his interest for a pecuniary consideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a barbarian, a rebel against the king his master. Had he, now he was upwards of eighty, and his body full of wounds and scars, accepted again of the appointment of captain-general, to fight for the liberties of Greece, his ambition, at that time of day, would not have been entirely unexceptionable; for even honourable pursuits must have their times and seasons to give them a propriety; or rather, propriety, and the avoiding of all extremes, is the characteristic which distinguishes honourable pursuits from the dishonourable. But Agesilaus was not moved by this consideration, nor did he think any public service unworthy of him; he thought it much more unbecoming to lead an inactive life at home, and to sit down and wait till

* Near five hundred years after.

death should strike his blow. He therefore raised a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet, with the money which Tachos had sent him, and then set sail, taking with him thirty Spartans for his counsellors, as formerly.

Upon his arrival in Egypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Agesilaus had raised great expectations in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the shore to get a sight of him; but when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and saw only a little old man, and in as mean attire, seated on the grass by the sea-side, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and observing, that this was the very thing represented in the fable*, "The mountain had "brought forth a mouse." They were still more surprised at his want of politeness, when they brought him such presents as were commonly made to strangers of distinction, and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geese, and refused the pasties, the sweet-meats, and perfumes; and when they pressed him to accept them, he said, "They might carry them to the *helots*." Theophrastus tells us, he was pleased with the *papyrus*, on account of its thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Egypt, he asked the king for some of it.

Tachos was preparing for the war; and Agesilaus, upon joining him, was greatly disappointed to find he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was admiral: Tachos, however, reserved to himself the chief direction, both at sea and land. This was the first disagreeable circumstance that occurred to Agesilaus; and others soon followed. The vanity and insolence of the Egyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He consented to sail with him against the Phœnicians; and, contrary to his dignity and nature, submitted to the barbarian, till he could find an opportunity to shake off his yoke. That opportunity soon presented itself. Nectanabis†, cousin to

* Athenæus makes Tachos say this, and Agesilaus answer, "You "will find me a lion by and bye."

† Ανεψιος signifies either *cousin* or *nephew*. But, according to Diodorus, Nectanabis was the son of Tachos.

Tachos, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

In consequence of this, Nectanabis sent ambassadors to Agesilaus to entreat his assistance. He made the same application to Chabrias, and promised them both great rewards. Tachos was apprised of these proceedings, and begged of them not to abandon him. Chabrias listened to his request, and endeavoured also to appease the resentment of Agesilaus, and keep him to the cause he had embarked in. Agesilaus answered, "As for you, Chabrias, "you came hither as a volunteer, and therefore may act "as you think proper; but I was sent by my country, "upon the application of the Egyptians, for a general. "It would not then be right to commence hostilities "against the people to whom I was sent as an assistant, "except Sparta should give me such orders." At the same time he sent some of his officers home, with instructions to accuse Tachos, and to defend the cause of Nectanabis. The two rival kings also applied to the Lacedæmonians; the one as an ancient friend and ally, and the other as one who had a greater regard for Sparta, and would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Egyptian deputies the hearing, and this public answer, "That they should leave "the business to the care of Agesilaus." But their private instructions to him were, "to do what should appear "most advantageous to Sparta." Agesilaus had no sooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries, and went over to Nectanabis; covering this strange and scandalous proceeding with the pretence of acting in the best manner for his country*: when that slight veil is taken off, its right name is treachery and base desertion. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, by placing a regard to the advantage of their country in the first rank of honour and virtue, left themselves no criterion of justice but the aggrandizement of Sparta.

* Xenophon has succeeded well enough in defending Agesilaus with respect to his undertaking the expeditions into Egypt. He represents him pleased with the hopes of making Tachos some return for his many services to the Lacedæmonians, of restoring, through his means, the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and of revenging the ill offices done the Spartans by the king of Persia. But it was in vain for that historian to attempt to exculpate him with respect to his deserting Tachos, which Plutarch justly treats as an act of treachery.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But, at the same time, there rose up in Mendes another competitor, to dispute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thousand men, whom he had soon assembled. Nectanabis, to encourage Agesilaus, represented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were great, they were only a mixed multitude, and many of them mechanics, who were to be despised for their utter ignorance of war. "It is not "their numbers," said Agesilaus, "that I fear, but that "ignorance and inexperience you mention, which ren-"ders them incapable of being practised upon by art or "stratagem; for those can only be exercised with success "upon such as having skill enough to suspect the designs "of their enemy, form schemes to countermine him, and "in the mean time are caught by new contrivances. But "he who has neither expectation nor suspicion of that "sort, gives his adversary no more opportunity than he "who stands still gives to a wrestler."

Soon after, the adventurer of Mendes sent persons to sound Agesilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis; and when Agesilaus advised him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had seen no service, but who, by the advantage of numbers, might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and prevent him in most of his operations, then his fears and suspicions increased, and put him upon the expedient of retiring into a large and well-fortified town. Agesilaus could not well digest this instance of distrust; yet he was ashamed to change sides again, and at last return without effecting any thing. He therefore followed his standard, and entered the town with him.

However, when the enemy came up, and began to open their trenches, in order to inclose him, the Egyptian, afraid of a siege, was inclined to come immediately to an engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, because there was no great quantity of provisions in the place. But Agesilaus opposed it; and the Egyptians, on that account, looked upon him in a worse light than before, not scrupling to call him a traitor to their king. These censures he now bore with patience, because he was waiting a favourable moment for putting in execution a design he had formed.

The design was this: The enemy, as we have observed, were drawing a deep trench round the walls, with an intent to shut up Nectanabis. When they had proceeded so far in the work that the two ends were almost ready to meet, as soon as night came on, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arm, and then went to the Egyptian, and said, "Now is the time, young man, for you to save yourself, "which I did not choose to speak of sooner, lest it should "be divulged and lost. The enemy, with their own hands, "have worked out your security, by labouring so long "upon the trench, that the part which is finished will "prevent our suffering by their numbers, and the space "which is left puts it in our power to fight them upon "equal terms. Come on then; now show your courage; "sally out along with us with the utmost vigour, and "save both yourself and your army. The enemy will "not dare to stand us in front, and our flanks are secur-"ed by the trench." Nectanabis now admiring his capacity, put himself in the middle of the Greeks, and advancing to the charge, easily routed all that opposed him.

Agesilaus having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himself once more of the same stratagem, as a wrestler sometimes uses the same sleight twice in one day. By sometimes pretending to fly, and sometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, inclosed with two ditches that were very deep, and full of water. When he saw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge with a front equal to theirs, and secured by the nature of the ground against being surrounded. The consequence was that they made but little resistance; numbers were killed, and the rest fled, and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus successful in his affairs, and firmly established in his kingdom, had a grateful sense of the services of Agesilaus, and pressed him to spend the winter with him. But he hastened his return to Sparta, on account of the war she had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though at the same time she found it necessary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis dismissed him with great marks of honour, and, besides other presents, furnished him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, for the expences of the Grecian war. But, as it was winter, he met with a storm, which drove him upon a desert shore in Africa,

called the *Haven of Menelaus*, and there he died, at the age of eighty-four years, of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. About thirty years of that time he made the greatest figure, both as to reputation and power, being looked upon as commander in chief, and, as it were, king of Greece, till the battle of Leuctra.

It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpses of their kings home; and as the attendants of Agesilaus had not honey to preserve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and so conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His son Archidamus succeeded to the crown, which descended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was assassinated by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta.

POMPEY.

THE people of Rome appear from the first to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was towards Hercules, when, after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he says,

> The sire I hated, but the son I love*.

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancarous hatred for any general than for Strabo the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightning, they dragged his corpse from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the same Romans an attachment more early begun, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or

* Of the tragedy of *Prometheus Released*, from which this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus, and Hercules, the son of Jupiter, released him.

more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The sole cause of their aversion to the father was his insatiable avarice; but there were many causes of their affection for the son; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exercises, his eloquent and persuasive address, his strict honour and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever less importunate in asking favours*, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance, and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before, which, together with the shining moisture and quick turn of his eye†, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great than that which appeared in the statues of that prince: So that some seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuse it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus‡, a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him, said, "It was "no wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

We are told that Flora the courtezan took a pleasure in her old age in speaking of the commerce she had with Pompey; and she used to say, she could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Geminius, one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a passion for her, and gave her much trouble with his solicitations. At last she told him, she could not consent on account

* Ὡς μηδενος αλυπηροτερον δεηθηναι, μηδε ἡδιον ὑπεργησαι δεομενῳ.

The Latin translator has taken δεηθηναι in a passive sense—*cum quidem nemo esset, qui vel æquiori animo peti abs se aliquid pateretur.* But that is inconsistent with the contrast which immediately follows.

One of the manuscripts has it, Ὡς μηδενος προτερον—and Dacier appears to have followed it—*car il n'y avoit point d'homme plus reservé que lui à demander des services.*

† Ὑγροτης signifies not only *moisture*, but *flexibility*. Lucian has ὑλροτης μελων. And των περι τα ομματα ῥυθμων υγροτης seems more applicable to the latter sense.

‡ Lucius Marcius Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attia. Horace speaks of him, lib. i. ep. 7.

of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permission, and he gave it him, but never approached her afterwards, though he seemed to retain a regard for her. She bore the loss of him, not with the slight uneasiness of a prostitute, but was long sick through sorrow and regret. It is said that Flora was so celebrated for her beauty and fine bloom, that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with statues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freedmen, who had great interest with him, and who died worth four thousand talents, had a wife of irresistible beauty. Pompey, on that occount, behaved to her with less politeness than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms: But though he took his measures with so much care and caution in this respect, he could not escape the censure of his enemies, who accused him of a commerce with married women, and said he often neglected or gave up points essential to the public to gratify his mistresses.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his upon record. In a great illness, when his appetite was almost gone, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money, for the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he said, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of "Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the physician, he eat something that was easy to be had. But this happened at a later period in life.

While he was very young, and served under his father, who was carrying on the war against Cinna*, one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they slept in the same tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others set fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at supper, and it did not put him in the least confusion. He drank more freely, and caressed Terentius more than usual; but when they were to have gone to rest, he stole

* In the year of Rome 666. And as Pompey was born the same year with Cicero, viz. in the year of Rome 647, he must, in this war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

out of the tent, and went and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as soon as he thought Pompey was asleep, drew his sword, and stabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The soldiers, who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to strike their tents and take up their arms. The general dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance: But Pompey was every where; he begged of them with tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them, if they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were ashamed to proceed, and all, except eight hundred, returned and reconciled themselves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own use, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to answer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the enfranchised slaves, had secreted most of the money; and he took care to inform the magistrates of the particulars. He was accused, however, himself, of having taken some hunting-nets and books out of the spoils of Asculum; and, it is true, his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he lost them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into, and pillaged his house. In this affair he maintained the combat well with his adversary at the bar, and showed an acuteness and firmness above his years; which gained him so much applause, that Antistius, the prætor, who had the hearing of the cause, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The proposal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it; and the treaty was concluded privately. The people, however, had some notion of the thing from the pains which Antistius took for Pompey; and at last, when he pronounced the sentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were, upon a signal given, broke out in the old marriage acclamation of *Talasio*.

The origin of the term is said to have been this: When the principal Romans seized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to see the games they were celebrating to

intrap them, some herdsmen and shepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handsome; and, lest she should be taken from them, as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, *Talasio*. Talasius was a young man, universally beloved and admired; therefore all who heard them, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us, the marriage of Talasius proved fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the most probable account I can find of the term*.

Pompey in a little time married Antistia; and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp. But finding some unjust charges laid against them there, he took the first private opportunity to withdraw. As he was no where to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death: Upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who pursued him with a drawn sword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his ring, which was of no small value. The officer answered, with great ferocity, "I am not come to "sign a contract, but to punish an impious and lawless "tyrant;" and then killed him upon the spot.

Such was the end of Cinna: after whom Carbo, a tyrant still more savage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great satisfaction of most of the Romans, who in their present unhappy circumstances, thought the change of their master no small advantage. To such a desperate state had their calamities brought them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whither he had retired, partly because he had lands there, but more on account of an old attachment which the cities in that district had to his family. As he observed that the best and most considerable of the citizens left their houses, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he resolved to do the same. At the same time he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a respectable manner at the head of an army. He

* See more of this in the life of Romulus.

therefore tried what levies he could make in the Picene*, and the people readily repaired to his standard; rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occasion, one Vindius happening to say, "Pompey is just come from under the "hands of the pedagogue, and all on a sudden is become "a demagogue among you," they were so provoked that they fell upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the most public part of the great city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers, who opposed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city: He inlisted soldiers; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. He did the same in all the neighbouring cities; for the partisans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the rest were glad to range themselves under his banners; so that in a little time he raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages; in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla, not by hasty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himself; for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all the parts of Italy through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came against him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demolish him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gaulish horse on the enemy's side sustained the first shock; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was a man of prodigious strength, and brought him down with a push of his spear. The rest immediately fled, and threw the infantry into such disorder, that the whole was soon put to flight. This produced so great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted, and took separate routes; in consequence of which, the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the interests of Pompey.

* Now the March of Ancona.

Not long after, Scipio the consul advanced to engage him: But before the infantry were near enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At last Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. He gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and in the pursuit drove them upon impracticable ground; so that finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

Sylla had not yet been informed of these transactions; but upon the first news of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries, and such respectable generals, he dreaded the consequence, and marched with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that the troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner, as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander in chief: For he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to age and size of the men, and the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted; and upon being saluted of course by Pompey as *imperator*, he returned his salutation with the same title; though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the senate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The rest of his behaviour was as respectable as that in the first interview: He used to rise up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to him; which he was rarely observed to do for any other, though he had a number of persons of distinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with these honours: On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his direction, he said, "It was not right to take the com-
"mand from a man who was his superior both in age and
"character; but if Metellus should desire his assistance in
"the conduct of the war, it was at his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to him to come; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only signalised his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the spirit of ad-

venture in Metellus, which was almost extinguished with age; just as brass in a state of fusion is said to melt a cold plate, sooner than fire itself. But as it is not usual, when a champion has distinguished himself in the lists, and gained the prize in all the games, to record, or to take any notice of the performances of his younger years; so the actions of Pompey, in this period, though extraordinary in themselves, yet being eclipsed by the number and importance of his latter expeditions, I shall forbear to mention, lest, by dwelling upon his first essays, I should not leave myself room for those greater and more critical events which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himself master of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours; making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for. But he was most struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was persuaded that he owed more to his services than those of any other man. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take him into his alliance; and, as his wife Metella was perfectly of his opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry Æmilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scaurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract. It was suitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey to take Æmilia, pregnant as she was, from another, and bring her into his house, and at the same time to repudiate Antistia, distressed as she must be for a father whom she had lately lost on account of this cruel husband: For Antistius was killed in the senate-house, because it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cause of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herself. This was an additional scene of misery in that tragical marriage; as was also the fate of Æmilia in Pompey's house, who died there in childbed.

Soon after this Sylla received an account that Perpenna had made himself master of Sicily, where he afforded an asylum to the party which opposed the reigning powers. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that island; Domitius had entered Africa; and many other persons of great distinction, who had escaped the fury of the proscriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pom-

pey was sent against them with a considerable armament. He soon forced Perpenna to quit the island; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harrassed by the armies that were there before his, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who were seated in Messina. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction, alleging, that they stood excused by an ancient privilege granted them by the Romans. He answered, "Will you "never have done with citing laws and privileges to men "who wear swords?" His behaviour too, to Carbo, in his misfortunes appeared inhuman: For if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he should have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it: But, instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he sat in judgment on him, to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the sword drawn, he was so much disordered at it, that he was forced to beg a moment's respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

Caius Oppius*, the friend of Cæsar, writes, that Pompey likewise treated Quintus Valerius with inhumanity: For, knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared to him in point of knowledge, he took him (he says) aside, and after he had walked with him till he had satisfied himself upon several points of learning, commanded his servants to take him to the block. But we must be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he speaks of the friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey, indeed, was under the necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly; but others he suffered to escape, and even assisted some in getting off.

He had resolved to chastise the Himereans for attempting to support his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him, "He would act unjustly, if he passed by the person "that was guilty, and punished the innocent." Pompey

* The same who wrote an account of the Spanish war. He was also a biographer; but his works of that kind are lost. He was mean enough to write a treatise to show that Cæsario was not the son of Cæsar.

asked him, "Who was the guilty person?" and he answered "I am the man: I persuaded my friends, and "compelled my enemies, to take the measures they did." Pompey delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterwards all the people of Himera. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, he sealed up their swords, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, he set sail with a hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred store-ships, laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage; immediately after which seven thousand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him six legions complete.

On his arrival, he met with a whimsical adventure. Some of his soldiers, it seems, found a treasure, and shared considerable sums. The thing getting air, the rest of the troops concluded that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey, therefore, could make no use of them for several days, as they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to pass. In the morning it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire: but Pom-

pey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and the resistance they made was neither general nor uniform; besides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The storm incommoded the Romans too, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey himself was in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and received not a speedy answer.—At length, however, he routed the enemy with great slaughter; not above three thousand of them escaping out of twenty thousand. The soldiers then saluted Pompey *imperator*, but he said he would not accept that title while the enemy's camp stood untouched; therefore, if they chose to confer such an honour upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the intrenchments.

At that instant they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of such an accident as he had just escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain; in consequence of which, most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest were taken by assault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius prisoner, and bestowed his crown on Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by success, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for several days, and subdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts without giving them a specimen of the Roman valour and success: Accordingly he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with one legion only for a successor. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, which he kept to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch that when he entreated them to return to Italy,

they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or suffer him to trust a tyrant. At first he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations: and when he found those had no effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they spent great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he in persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them, with an oath, "That he would kill him-" self if they attempted to force him:" And even this hardly brought them to desist.

The first news that Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which he said to his friends, " Then it " is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old " age." This he said because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he resolved to exceed them in his regards, if possible. He therefore hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the surname of *Magnus*, or *the Great:* At the same time he ordered all about him to give him the same appellation. Others say, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorised by Sylla. It is certain, he was the last to take it himself, and he did not make use of it till a long time after, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of proconsul against Sertorius. Then he began to write himself in his letters and in all his edicts *Pompey the Great;* for the world was accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed on their great men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the surname of *Maximus* to Valerius*, for reconciling them to the senate after a

* This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

violent dissension, and to Fabius Rullus for expelling some persons descended of enfranchised slaves*, who had been admitted into the senate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was opposed by Sylla. The latter alleged, "That the laws did not allow that honour to any person "who was not either consul or prætor†. Hence it was, "that the first Scipio, when he returned victorious from "greater wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians in "Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither "consul nor prætor." He added, "That if Pompey, who "was yet little better than a beardless youth, and who "was not of age to be admitted into the senate, should "enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both "upon the dictator's power, and those honours of his "friend." These arguments Sylla insisted on, to show him he would not allow of his triumph, and that, in case he persisted, he would chastise his obstinacy.

Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade him consider, "That more worshipped the rising than the setting "sun;" intimating that his power was increasing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he said, but perceiving by the looks and gestures of the company that they were struck with the expression, he asked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the spirit of Pompey, and cried, "Let him triumph! Let "him triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy on this occasion, it is said, that to mortify those who gave into it the more, he resolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country: But finding the gate too narrow, he gave up that design, and contented himself with horses.

* It was not his expelling the descendants of enfranchised slaves the senate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the surname of Maximus; but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. These were called *tribus urbanæ*. *Liv.* ix. 46.

† Livy (lib. xxxi.) tells us, the senate refused L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph, for the same reason, though they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

His soldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said, " He had rather give up " his triumph, than submit to flatter them." Whereupon, Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared, " He now found Pompey really *the Great*, and " worthy of a triumph."

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour, to lead up a triumph before he was a senator: And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised Lepidus* to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla seeing him conducted home by the people through the *forum*, thus addressed him: " I see, young " man you are proud of your victory. And undoubt- " edly it was a great and extraordinary thing, by your " management of the people, to obtain for Lepidus, the " worst man in Rome, the return before Catulus, one of " the worthiest and the best. But awake, I charge you, " and be upon your guard; for you have now made " your adversary stronger than yourself."

The displeasure Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey, appeared most plainly by his will. He left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with great temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others opposed his being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured, but did honour to the procession.

* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year of Rome 675.

Sylla's predictions were verified soon after his death. Lepidus wanted to usurp the authority of a dictator; and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with specious pretences: He immediately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely suppress. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the senate and people were attached to him, and, in point of prudence and justice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character; but he was more able to direct the civil government than the operations of war. This crisis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which side he should take. He joined the honest party, and was declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them, he had terminated the war without striking a blow: For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, surrendered himself to Pompey; and having a party of horse given him as an escort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, sent Geminius the next day to dispatch him; which brought no small stain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the senate by letter, it was a measure that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Cassius, slew Cæsar: But the son did not resemble the father, either in war or in his death, as appears from the life we have given of him. Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief, not in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with a billet (as we are told), by which he discovered that his wife had dishonoured his bed.

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in possession of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itself; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a distempered part. He had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and particularly in war; but age seemed to have abated that vigour, which is necessary for seizing and making the best advantage of critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius snatched those opportunities from him. He came on in the most daring manner, and more like a captain of banditti than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose skill lay in the management of heavy armed forces.

At this juncture, Pompey having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail with the senate to send him to the assistance of Metellus. Meantime, Catulus ordered him to disband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome; till at last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the command he wanted. On this occasion, we are told, one of the senators, somewhat surprised at the motion, asked him who made it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] as the representative of a consul? "No," answered he, "but [*pro consulibus*] as the representative of both consuls;" intimating by this the incapacity of the consuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and such of the Spanish nations as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner with respect to Pompey: he said, "He should want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to chastise the boy with, were it not that he feared the old woman," meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution: For Metellus gave

into a course of luxury and pleasure, which no one could have expected, and changed the simplicity of a soldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and interest; for the cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever; though he had not, in that respect, much to correct in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing touched Pompey so nearly as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms, when suddenly he found himself surrounded, and being afraid to move, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes in his presence. However, in an engagement near Valencia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who had taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above ten thousand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no share in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged near the close of day. Both were afraid Metellus should come up; Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful; one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the greatest honour, for he routed the battalions that opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of uncommon size. While they were close engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different success; Pompey received only a slight wound, and he lopped off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken; but he escaped beyond all expectation, by quitting his horse, with gold trappings and other valuable furniture, to the barbarians, who quarrelled and came to blows about dividing the spoil.

Next morning at break of day, both drew up again, to give the finishing stroke to the victory, to which both laid claim: But, upon Metellus coming up, Sertorius retired, and his army dispersed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to disperse in that manner, and afterwards to knit again; so that Sertorius was often seen

wandering alone, and as often advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, like a torrent swelled with sudden rains.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait on Metellus; and, upon approaching him, he ordered his *lictors* to lower the *fasces*, by way of compliment to Metellus, as his superior. But Metellus would not suffer it; and, indeed, in all respects he behaved to Pompey with great politeness, taking nothing upon him on account of his consular dignity, or his being the older man, except to give the word when they encamped together. And very often they had separate camps; for the enemy, by his artful and various measures, by making his appearance at different places almost at the same instant, and by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste the country, he made himself master of the sea; the consequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own provinces, and to go into those of others for supplies.

Pompey, having exhausted most of his own fortune in support of the war, applied to the senate for money to pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not send it him. Lucullus, who was then consul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took care to furnish him with the money as soon as possible; because he wanted to be employed himself in the Mithridatic war, and he was afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and to solicit the command against Mithridates, which was a more honourable, and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

Mean time Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers*; and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, undertook to supply his place. He had, indeed, the same troops, the same magazines and supplies, but he had not the same understanding to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarrassed as to the measures he should take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the

* It was three years after the consulate of Lucullus, that Sertorius was assassinated.

plain. When he found it took, and that Perpenna was busied in the pursuit of that handful of men, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Most of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himself was taken prisoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to be accused of ingratitude, nor are we to suppose him (as some will have it), forgetful of the services he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he acted with a wisdom and dignity of mind that proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, shewed letters by which some of the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise new commotions, and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey fearing those letters might excite greater wars than that he was then finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burnt the papers without reading them. He stayed just long enough in Spain to compose the troubles, and to remove such uneasinesses as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he arrived, as fortune would have it, when the *Servile* war was at the height.

Crassus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, who he feared, might snatch the laurels out of his hand, resolved to come to a battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune in some sort, interweaved this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thousand of the slaves, whom he fell in with as they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had beated the gladiators in a "pitched battle, but that it was *he* who had cut up the "war by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that no part of the success in Spain, against Sertorius, was ascribed by a man of them, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with some fears and jealousies that he would not disband his army, but, treading in the steps of Sylla, raise himself by the sword to sovereign power, and main-

tain himself in it, as Sylla had done*. Hence the number of those that went out of fear to meet him, and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of those who went out of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more subject for envious tongues; which was, that he paid more attention to the commons than to the senate; and whereas Sylla had destroyed the authority of the tribunes, he was determined to re-establish it, in order to gain the affections of the people. This was true: For there never was any thing they had so much set their hearts upon, or longed for so extravagantly, as to see the tribunitial power put in their hands again: So that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happiness, that he had an opportunity to bring that affair about; knowing that if any one should be beforehand with him in this design, he should never find any means of making so agreeable a return for the kind regards of the people.

A second triumph was decreed him†, together with the consulship: But these were not considered as the most extraordinary instances of his power: The strongest proof of his greatness was, that Crassus, the richest, the most eloquent, and most powerful man in the administration, who used to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to solicit the consulship without first asking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wished for an opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received

* Cicero, in his Epistles to Atticus, says Pompey made but little secret of this unjustifiable ambition. The passages are remarkable: *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit:* Εἰδὼς σοι λεγω, *nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit.* Lib. vii. ep. 9. "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous of "obtaining a power like that of Sylla; I tell you no more than "what I know, for he makes no secret of it." And again: *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita Sylla turit animus ejus, et proscripturit.* Ibid. ep. 10. "Pompey has been forming "this infamous design for these two years past; so strongly is he "bent upon imitating Sylla, and proscribing like him." Hence we see how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars, Cæsar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror.

† He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without first bearing the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and great services, excused that deviation from the common rules.

the application with pleasure, and made great interest with the people in his behalf; declaring he should take their giving him Crassus for a colleague, as kindly as their favour to himself.

Yet when they were elected consuls, they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures. Crassus had most interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people; for he had restored them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be made, that judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order*. However, the most agreeable spectacle of all to the people was Pompey himself, when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the wars. It was the custom for a Roman knight, when he had served the time ordered by law, to lead his horse into the *forum*, before the two magistrates called censors; and after having given account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his discharge. On these occasions they receive proper marks of honour or disgrace, according to their behaviour.

Gellius and Lentulus were then censors, and had taken their seats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order, when Pompey was seen at a distance with all the badges of his office, as consul, leading his horse by the bridle. As soon as he was near enough to be observed by the censors, he ordered his *lictors* to make an opening, and advanced, with his horse in hand, to the foot of the tribunal. The people were struck with admiration, and a profound silence took place; at the same time a joy, mingled with reverence, was visible in the countenance of the censors. The senior censor then addressed him as follows: "Pompey the Great, "I demand of you, whether you have served all the cam-"paigns required by law?" He answered with a loud voice, "I have served them all; and all under myself, as "general." The people were so charmed with this answer that there was no end of their acclamations. At last, the censors rose up, and conducted Pompey to his house;

* L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch says *again*, because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudest plaudits.

When the end of the consulship approached, and his difference with Crassus was increasing daily, Caius Aurelius*, a man who was of the equestrian order, but had never intermeddled with state affairs, one day, when the people were met in full assembly, ascended the *rostra*, and said "Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, and com-
"manded him to acquaint the consuls, that they must
"take care to be reconciled before they laid down their
"office." Pompey stood still, and held his peace: but Crassus went and gave him his hand, and saluted him in a friendly manner; at the same time, he addressed the people as follows: "I think, my fellow-citizens, there is
"nothing dishonourable or mean in making the first ad-
"vances to Pompey, whom you scrupled not to dignify
"with the name of *the Great*, when he was yet but a
"beardless youth, and for whom you voted two triumphs
"before he was a senator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the consulship.

Crassus continued his former manner of life; but Pompey now seldom chose to plead the causes of those that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar. Indeed he seldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; so that it was not easy either to speak to him or see him but in the midst of a crowd. He took pleasure in having a number of retainers about him, because he thought it gave him an air of greatness and majesty; and he was persuaded that dignity should be kept from being soiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For those who are raised to greatness by arms, and know not how to descend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to preserve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field; and he who cannot distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the administration too. When, therefore, the latter has got the man who shone in camps and triumphs, into the assemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain the same pre-eminence there, of course he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the war-

* Ovatius Aurelius.

rior pretends not to take the lead in domestic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This soon appeared from the subsequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; they not only attacked ships, but islands and maritime towns. Many persons, distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and assisted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity, but there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars, as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners, there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ransom, all to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities they were masters of to four hundred.

Temples, which had stood inviolably sacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros, that where he was worshipped under the title of Didymæus*, that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, that of Ceres† at Hermiona, that of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus and in Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium and in the Isle of Leucas,

* So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus.

† Pausanias (*in Laconic.*) tells us the Lacedæmonians worship Ceres under the name of *Chthonia:* and (*in Corinthiac.*) he gives us the reason of her having that name: "The Argives say, that "Chthonia, the daughter of Colontas, having been saved out of a "conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple "to that goddess, who was worshipped there under the name of "Chthonia."

those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium*.

They likewise offered strange sacrifices; those of Olympus I mean†; and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day‡, being originally instituted by them. They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast: They carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and *lictors:* They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country house, and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her.

But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon. The poor man seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might no more be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him go in peace; and, if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off; the consequence of which was, that their markets were not supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, put them upon sending Pompey to clear the sea of pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed the decree||, which created him,

* The printed text gives us the erroneous reading of *Leucanium*, but two manuscripts give us *Lacinium*. Livy often mentions Juno *Lacinia*.

† Not on Mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympus, near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there is not known.

‡ According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithres, or Mithra; but the sun is worshipped in that country.

|| This law was made in the year of Rome 686. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend Gabinius, as appears from Cicero, was a man of infamous character.

not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commission did not take in; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and most powerful kings, were, moreover, comprehended in it. Beside this, he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him, in such districts, and with such authority as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey; and one of the consuls venturing to say*, "If "he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled to pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honour that was his due, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers; "for where will you find another," said he, "if you lose him?" They answered with one voice, "Yourself." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Then Roscius mounted the rostrum, but not a man would give ear to him. However, he made signs to them with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal, they set up such a shout, that a crow, which was flying over the *forum*, was stunned with the force of it, and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may con-

* The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso, and Acilius Glabrio.

clude, that when birds fall on such occasions, it is not because the air is so divided with the shock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with such force, and produces so violent an agitation.

The assembly broke up that day without coming to any resolution. When the day came that they were to give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and, on receiving information that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Next morning at break of day he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which, he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had given him. He was empowered to fit out five hundred galleys, and to raise an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæstors given him. As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say, "The very "name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in pursuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he inclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their vessels as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chase, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself with sixty of his best galleys; but first he resolved to clear the Tuscan Sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours and those of his lieutenants. But as the consul Piso was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundusium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the same manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his

way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the speed with which he had executed his commission, so far beyond all expectation, and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reason Piso was in danger of being deposed from the consulship; and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpose, but Pompey would not suffer him to propose it: On the contrary, his speech to the people was full of candour and moderation; and when he had provided such things as he wanted, he went to Brundusium, and put to sea again. Though he was straitened for time, and in his haste sailed by many cities without calling, yet he stopped at Athens. He entered the town, and sacrificed to the gods; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared to re-embark immediately. As he went out of the gate he observed two inscriptions, each comprised in one line.

That within the gate was—

> But know thyself a man, and be a god.

That without—

> We wish'd, we saw; we lov'd, and we ador'd.

Some of the pirates, who yet traversed the seas, made their submission; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ships in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and, avoiding the other officers, surrendered themselves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He spared them all; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themselves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the most powerful part of these corsairs, who sent their families, treasures, and all useless hands, into castles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ships, and waited for Pompey at Coracesium, in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works, as well as situation, were almost impregnable. Thus

the war was finished, and the whole force of the pirates destroyed, within three months at the farthest.

Beside the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass; and the prisoners amounted to twenty thousand. He did not choose to put them to death, and at the same time he thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they were not only numerous, but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would probably knit again, and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a savage nor an unsocial creature; and when he becomes so, it is by vices contrary to nature; yet even then he may be humanized by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life, as beasts that are naturally wild put off their fierceness when they are kept in a domestic way. For this reason he determined to remove the pirates to a greater distance from the sea, and bring them to taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities, and by the culture of the ground. He placed some of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almost desolate, and which received them with pleasure, because at the same time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli*, which had lately been dismantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of these corsairs. The remainder, which was a considerable body, he planted in Dyma, a city of Achaia, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such as looked upon Pompey with envy found fault with these proceedings; but his conduct with respect to Metellus in Crete was not agreeable to his best friends. This was a relation of that Metellus who commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, and he had been sent into Crete some time before Pompey was employed in this war; for Crete was the second nursery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had destroyed many nests of them there, and the remainder, who were besieged by him at this time, addressed themselves to Pompey as suppliants, and invited him into the island, as included in his commission, and falling within the distance he had a right to carry his arms from the sea. He listened to their application, and by let-

* He called it after his own name Pompeiopolis.

ter enjoined Metellus to take no farther steps in the war. At the same time, he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the besieged, and fought on their side; a circumstance which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous: For what could be more absurd than to suffer himself to be so blinded by his envy and jealousy of Metellus, as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be used as a kind of amulet to defend them? Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried away by an extravagant passion for fame, when he made signs to his troops not to touch Hector,

> Lest some strong arm should snatch the glorious prize
> Before Pelides.——

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to destroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, pursued his operations, till he took the pirates, and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him.

When news was brought to Rome that the war with the pirates was finished, and that Pompey was bestowing his leisure upon visiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, proposed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding likewise Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes; for which purpose he was also to retain his naval command. This was subjecting at once the whole Roman empire to one man: For the provinces which the former decree did not give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this, together with all the forces which under Lucullus had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a person to succeed him in his triumph, rather than in the war. But that was not the thing which affected the patricians most: They were per-

suaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injustice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumstance, to think of a power in the hands of Pompey, which they could call nothing but a tyranny*. They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppose the law, and maintain their liberty: Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one spoke on the occasion but Catulus. He urged many arguments against the bill; and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addressed himself to the senators, and called upon them many times from the *rostrum*, "To seek some "mountain, as their ancestors had done, some rock whi-"ther they might fly for the preservation of liberty."

We are told, however, that the bill was passed by all the tribes†, and almost the same universal authority conferred upon Pompey in his absence, which Sylla did not gain but by the sword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occasion, he is said to have knit his brows, smote his thigh, and expressed himself as if he was already overburdened and wearied with the weight of power‡: "Alas! is there no "end of my conflicts? How much better would it have "been to be one of the undistinguished many, than to be "perpetually engaged in war? Shall I never be able to "fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domestic happiness, "and conjugal endearments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and lust of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference he had

* "We have then got at last," said they, "a sovereign; the re-"public is changed into a monarchy; the services of Lucullus, the "honour of Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy senators, "are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never car-"ried his tyranny so far."

† Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar. The former aimed at the consulate, which Pompey's party could more easily procure him than that of Catulus and the senate. As for Cæsar, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty, which might one day obstruct the vast designs he had already formed.

‡ Is it possible to read this without recollecting the similar character of our Richard the Third?

with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the present preference, on that account.

His actions soon unmasked the man. He caused public notice to be given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled the acts of Lucullus, remitting the fines he had imposed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In short, he omitted no means to show the partizans of that general, that all his authority was gone.

Lucullus, of course, complained of this treatment; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be best for them to come to an interview: accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of military merit, the *lictors* had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route was dry and barren, without the ornament or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which the servants of Lucullus no sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his *fasces* with them. This seemed to be an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at first the face of great politeness and civility. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations; but they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation; they proceeded to abusive language; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of an insatiable lust of power; insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little distance from him, declared he would not suffer his orders to be carried into execution, and seduced all his soldiers, except sixteen hundred, who, he knew, were so mutinous that they would be as unserviceable to him as they had been ill affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "The battles of Lucul-

" lus," he said, " were only mock battles, and he had " fought with nothing but the shadows of kings; but that " it was left for *him* to contend with real strength, and " well disciplined armies; since Mithridates had betaken " himself to swords and shields, and knew how to make " proper use of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, " That it was nothing new to Pompey to fight with " phantoms and shadows of war: for, like a dastardly " bird, he had been accustomed to prey upon those whom " he had not killed, and to tear the poor remains of a " dying opposition. Thus he had arrogated to himself " the conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, " which originally belonged to Metellus, to Catulus, and " Crassus. Consequently, he did not wonder that he was " come to claim the honour of finishing the wars of Ar- " menia and Pontus, after he had thrust himself into the " triumph over the fugitive slaves."

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, but durst not stand an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach, because it was destitute of water. Pompey encamped in the same place; and conjecturing from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a short time plentifully supplied with water*. He was not a little surprised that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

After this, Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of forty-five days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, and such as could be of no service. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him; but fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream prefigurative of what

* Paulus Æmilius had done the same thing long before in the Macedonian war.

was to befal him. He thought he was upon the Pontic Sea, sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe, and already in harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey seeing them prepared, was loth to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to surround them, so as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him still more to wait for daylight, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops, that the moon was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before them, that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javalins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation that they made not the least stand, and, in their flight, vast numbers were slain. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of which was his concubine Hypsicratia, a woman of such a masculine and daring spirit, that the king used to call her Hypsicrates. She then rode a Persian horse, and was dressed in a man's habit, of the fashion of that nation. She complained not in the least of the length of the march; and beside that fatigue, she waited on the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the

castle of Inora*, where the king's treasure, and his most valuable moveables were deposited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and bestowed them on those who repaired to him after their flight. He furnished each of his friends, too, with a quantity of poison, that none of them, against their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his design was to go to Tigranes in Armenia: But Tigranes had given up the cause, and set a price of no less than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having passed the head of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

In the mean time, Pompey entered Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its rise near the source of the Euphrates, but bends its course eastward, and empties itself into the Caspian Sea. Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they passed. As for Tigranes, the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane disposition, he received a Roman garrison into his capital; and taking his friends and relations with him, went to surrender himself. As he rode up to the intrenchments, two of Pompey's *lictors* came and ordered him to dismount, and enter on foot; assuring him that no man was ever seen on horseback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his sword, and gave it them. As soon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was still worse, he was going to prostrate himself, and embrace his knees: But Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one side of him, and his son on the other. Then addressing himself to the father, he said, "As to "what you had lost before, you lost it to Lucullus. It "was he who took from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, "Galatia, and Sophene: But what you kept till my "time, I will restore you, on condition you pay the Ro-

* It seems, from a passage in Strabo (b. xii.), that, instead of *Inora*, we should read *Sinoria*: For that was one of the many fortresses Mithridates had built between the Greater and the Less Armenia.

"mans a fine of six thousand talents for the injury you have "done them. Your son I will make king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himself so happy in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him king, that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half a *mina*, every centurion ten *minas*, and every tribune a talent. But his son was little pleased at the determination; and when he was invited to supper, he said, "He had no "need of such honours from Pompey; for he could find "another Roman." Upon this he was bound, and reserved in chains for the triumph. Not long after Phraätes, king of Parthia, sent to demand the young prince, as his son-in-law, and to propose that the Euphrates should be the boundary between him and the Roman empire. Pompey answered, "That Tigranes was certainly nearer to his fa- "ther, than his father-in-law; and as for the boundary, "justice should direct it."

When he had dispatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himself to the countries bordering on Mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass, in search of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in those parts. The Iberian territories touch upon the Moschian mountains and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians stretch more to the east, and extend to the Caspian Sea. The Albanians at first granted Pompey a passage: But as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which the Romans observe religiously, to assemble their forces to the number of forty thousand men, with a resolution to attack them; and for that purpose passed the Cyrnus*. The Cyrnus rises in the Iberian mountains, and being joined in its course by the Araxes from Armenia, it discharges itself by twelve mouths, into the Caspian Sea. Some say the Araxes does not run into it†, but has a separate channel, and empties itself near it into the same sea.

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great num-

* Strabo and Pliny call this river *Cyrus*, and so Plutarch probably wrote it.

† This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers.

bers on the spot. Their king sent ambassadors to speak for mercy; upon which Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous, and more warlike, and who were very desirous to signalise their zeal for Mithridates, by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians were never subject to the Medes or Persians: They escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haste. Pompey however, defeated this people too, in a great battle, in which he killed no less than nine thousand, and took above ten thousand prisoners.

After this, he threw himself into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine Sea. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties; for he had concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news was brought Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The desire of revenge determined him to march back and chastise them: But it was with infinite trouble and danger that he passed the Cyrnus again, the barbarians having fenced in on their side with pallisades all along the banks; and when he was over, he had a large country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty he provided against, by filling ten thousand bottles; and pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas*, to the number of sixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, but many of them ill armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind but skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Cosis; who, at the beginning of the battle, singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate. Pompey, in return, run him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot. It is said that the Amazons came to the assistance of the barbarians, from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle. The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did, indeed, meet with bucklers in the form of a

* This river takes its rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian Sea. Pompey calls it *Albanus*.

half-moon, and such buskins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian Sea, and are not next neighbours to the Albanians*; for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and spend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: After which they retire to their own country, where the live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian Sea, and march by its coasts into Hyrcania†; but he found the number of venomous serpents so troublesome, that he was forced to return, when three days march more would have carried him as far as he proposed‡.—The next route he took was into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to ambassadors from the kings of the Elymæans|| and Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. Meantime the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the rout, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the best part of the king's treasure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates

* The Albanian forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill disciplined. Their offensive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defensive armour was made of the skins of beasts.

† —Ελαυνειν επι την Ὑρκανιαν και Κασπιαν αλασσαν——Plutarch mentions the Caspian Sea after Hyrcania. But as that sea lies very near Albania, there was no necessity for Pompey to go through Hyrcania to it. Perhaps Plutarch meant the other extremity of the Caspian Sea.

‡ Τριον ὁδον ἡμερων αποσχων. The former English translator erroneously renders this, was forced to retreat *after three days march.*

|| *Strabo* (lib. xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Messabatice, and Corbiane. He adds, that they were powerful enough to refuse submission to the king of Parthia.

at an entertainment, and he was so much pleased with her, that he took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had taken his daughter, without condescending to speak one kind word to him. But when he waked next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a great retinue of eunuchs and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horse, with such magnificient furniture as is provided for those who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an insult and burlesque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight; but the servants stopped him, and assured him that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first-fruits—a small earnest of the fortune he intended him. At last he suffered himself to be persuaded that the scene was not visionary; he put on the purple, and mounted the horse, and, as he rode through the city, cried out, "All "this is mine." The inhabitants, of course, laughed at him; and he told them, "They should not be surprised "at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did "not throw stones at them."

From such a glorious source sprung STRATONICE.

She surrendered to Pompey the castle, and made him many magnificent presents; however, he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the solemnities of religion, and add lustre to his triumph. The rest he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the king of Iberia sent him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quæstors apply them to the purposes of the public revenue.

In the castle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates, and he read them with some pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique against the latter took its rise merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations both of his own dreams and those of his wives, and the lascivious letters which had passed between him and Mo-

nime. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed by Rutilius*, exhorting Mithridates to massacre all the Romans in Asia: But most people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes, to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, because he was a perfect contrast to him; or it might be invented by Pompey, whose father was represented in Rutilius's histories as one of the worst of men.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amisus, where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious measures. He had censured Lucullus much for disposing of provinces at a time when the war was alive, and for bestowing other considerable gifts and honours, which conquerors use to grant after their wars are absolutely terminated; and yet, when Mithridates was master of the Bosphorus, and had assembled a very respectable army again, the same Pompey did the very thing he had censured. As if he had finished the whole, he disposed of governments, and distributed other rewards among his friends. On that occasion, many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before him; and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refused to give him the title of King of Kings, by which he was usually addressed.

He was passionately desirous to recover Syria, and passed from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the Ocean which surrounds the world. In Africa he was the first whose conquests extended to the Great Sea; in Spain he stretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian Sea. In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea too into the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, because he saw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reason, he said, "He would leave him a stronger enemy "than the Romans to cope with, which was famine." In pursuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ships

* P. Rutilius Rufus was consul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him a great character. He was afterwards banished into Asia, and when Sylla recalled him, he refused to return. He wrote a Roman history in Greek, which Appian made great use of.

to cruise about, and prevent any vessels from entering the Bosphorus with provisions; and that death should be the punishment for such as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the best part of his army, he found the bodies of those Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between Triarius* and Mithridates, still uninterred. He gave them an honourable burial; and the omission of it seems to have contributed not a little to the aversion the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he subdued the Arabians about Mount Amanus by his lieutenant Afranius, and descended himself into Syria; which he converted into a Roman province, because it had no lawful king†. He reduced Judea, and took its king Aristobulus prisoner. He founded some cities, and set others free; punishing the tyrants who had enslaved them. But most of his time was spent in administering justice, and in deciding the disputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himself, he sent his friends: The Armenians and Parthians, for instance, having referred the difference they had about some territory, to his decision, he sent three arbitrators to settle the affair. His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally respectable as to virtue and moderation. This was the thing which palliated most of his faults, and those of his ministers. He knew not how to restrain or punish the offences of those he employed, but he gave so gracious a reception to those who came to complain of them, that they went away not ill satisfied with all they had suffered from their avarice and oppression.

His first favourite was Demetrius his enfranchised slave; a young man, who in other respects, did not want understanding, but who made an insolent use of his good fortune. They tell us this story of him: Cato the philosopher, then a young man, but already celebrated for his

* Triarius was defeated by Mithridates three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had twenty-three tribunes, and a hundred and fifty centurions killed in that battle; and his camp was taken.

† Pompey took the temple of Jerusalem, killing no less than twelve thousand Jews in the action. He entered the temple contrary to their law, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utensils, or the treasure belonging to it. Aristobulus presented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

virtue and greatness of mind, went to see Antioch, when Pompey was not there. According to custom, he travelled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horseback. When he approached the city, he saw a great number of people before the gates, all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one side, and of boys on the other. This gave the philosopher pain; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want.—However, he ordered his friends to alight and walk with him. As soon as they were near enough to speak with, the master of the ceremonies, with a crown on his head, and a staff of office in his hand, came up and asked them, "Where they had left Demetrius, and when he might "be expected?" Cato's companions laughed, but Cato said only, "Alas, poor city!" and so passed on.

Indeed, others might the better endure the insolence of Demetrius, because Pompey bore with it himself. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius seated himself in a disrespectful manner at table, with his cap of liberty* pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends†; and some of the most elegant and expensive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himself was satisfied with an indifferent house till his third triumph. Afterwards, he built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome; and as an appendage to it, built himself a house, much handsomer than the former, but not ostentatiously great; for he who came to be master of it after him, at his first entrance was surprised, and asked, "Where was the room in which Pompey the Great used "to sup?" Such is the account we have of these matters.

The king of Arabia Petræa had hitherto considered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him, that he was

* The word ἱματιον signifies here the cap of liberty worn by freedmen, not the flaps of a robe, which was all that the other Romans had to cover their heads with. Indeed, they went bareheaded.

† The Latin translator renders των ἡδωνιων τα καλλιστα *pulcherrima gymnasia;* and Dacier, *les plus beaux parces peur les exercices de la jeunesse;* but Athenæus (l. x.) gives us a more apposite sense of the word ἡδωνια καλεισθαι τα συμποσια. Dining-rooms might be called ἡδωνια, because youth and mirth convey similar ideas.

ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petra. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused pursuing Mithridates, against whom they would have had him turn, as against the ancient enemy of Rome; and an enemy, who, according to all accounts, had so far recovered his strength, as to propose marching through Scythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuse himself with a fruitless pursuit, but rather chose to wait for a new emergency, and, in the mean time, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune soon resolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petra, and encamped for that day, and was taking some exercise on horseback without the trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus; and it was plain they brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned with laurel. The soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so earnest in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead. "He killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. "And Pharnaces has seized all that belonged to his "father; which he declared he had done for himself and "the Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a lose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten thousand of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign, and the whole war, to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among

which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be easily known, because the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that the features were disfigured. Yet some that were curious to examine it distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but, to propitiate the avenging deity*, sent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by one Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes; and Caius, the foster-brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of most exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped the knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces discovering it afterwards, punished the persons guilty of the theft.

Pompey having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and solemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the sake of Theophanes, who was born there. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was the actions of Pompey. And he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one like it at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed the discourse to writing, which he made before him against the position of Hermagoras, another professor of rhetoric, concerning *invention* in general†. He behaved with equal munificence to the philosophers at Athens, and gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to return to Italy the greatest and happiest of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity whose care it is always to mix some portion of evil with the highest and most splendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing him a sad

* Nemesis.

† Hermagoras was for reducing *invention* under two general heads, the reason of the process, and the state of the question; which limitation Cicero disapproved as much as his master Posidonius. Vide *Cicer. de Invent. Rhetor.* lib. i.

This Posidonius, who is of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

welcome in his house. Mucia*, in his absence, had dishonoured his bed. While he was at a distance, he disregarded the report, but upon his approach to Italy, and a more mature examination into the affair, he sent her a divorce, without assigning his reasons either then or afterwards. The true reason is to be found in Cicero's epistles.

People talked variously at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed themselves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome, and make himself sole and absolute master there. Crassus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy; the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner set foot in Italy, than he called an assembly of his soldiers, and, after a kind and suitable address, ordered them to disperse in their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occasion they were to repair to him again.

As soon as it was known that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face of things. The cities seeing Pompey the Great unarmed, and attended by a few friends, as if he was returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much greater force than that which he had dismissed; so that there would have been no need of an army, if he had formed any designs against the state.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he desired the senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, that he might by his presence support the interest of Piso. But Cato opposed it, and the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmness with which Cato maintained the rights and customs of his country, at a time when no other man would ap-

* Mucia was sister to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. She was debauched by Cæsar; for which reason, when Pompey married Cæsar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife by whom he had three children, to espouse the daughter of a man whom he had often, with a sigh, called his Ægisthus. Mucia's disloyalty must have been very public, since Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation. Lib. i. ep. xii.

pear so openly for them, determined to gain him if possible; and as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and asked the other for his son. Cato, however, suspected the bait, and looked upon the proposed alliance as a means intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refused it, to the great regret of his wife and sister, who could not but be displeased at his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey being desirous to get the consulship for Afranius, distributed money for that purpose among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in Pompey's own gardens. The thing was so public, that Pompey was much censured for making that office venal, which he had obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the highest honour in the state to those who had money, but wanted merit. Cato then observed to the ladies of his family, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged he was a better judge than they of honour and propriety.

The triumph was so great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being sufficient for displaying what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judea, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries, it was mentioned that there were not less than a thousand castles, and near nine hundred cities taken; eight hundred galleys taken from the pirates; and thirty-nine desolate cities re-peopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted to but fifty millions of *drachmas*, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury, in money, and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of twenty thousand talents, besides what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom he that received least had fifteen hundred drachmas to his share. The captives who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima,

the wife of Tigranes, himself; Aristobulus, king of Judæa; the sister of Mithridates, with her five sons; and some Scythian women. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene, also appeared in the train: and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in person or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not small.

But the most honourable circumstance, and what no other Roman could boast, was, that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs; but his first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia; so that the three seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Those who desire to make the parallel between him and Alexander agree in all respects, tell us he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas, in fact, he was entering upon his fortieth year*. Happy it had been for him, if he had ended his days while he was blest with Alexander's good fortune! The rest of his life, every instance of success brought its proportion of envy, and every miscarriage was irretrievable: For the authority which he had gained by his merit, he employed for others in a way not very honourable; and his reputation consequently sinking, as they grew in strength, he was insensibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As it happens in a siege, every strong work that is taken adds to the besieger's force; so Cæsar, when raised by the influence of Pompey, turned that power which enabled him to trample upon his country, upon Pompey himself. It happened in this manner:—

Lucullus, who had been treated so unworthily by Pompey in Asia, upon his return to Rome met with the most honourable reception from the senate: and they gave him still greater marks of their esteem after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring to awake his ambition, and prevail with him to attempt the lead in the administration. But his spirit and active powers were by this time on the decline; he had given himself up to the pleasures of ease, and the

* It should be forty-sixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of August, in the year of Rome six hundred and forty-seven, and his triumph was in the same month in the year of Rome six hundred and ninety-two.

enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up against Pompey with some vigour at first, and got his acts confirmed, which his adversary had annulled; having a majority in the senate, through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people and to the young plebeians. Clodius, the most daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the same time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a manner far beneath his dignity, and insisted upon his supporting every bill that he proposed, and every speech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himself with the people: And, as if the connection with him had been an honour, instead of a disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ever been his fast friend, and of the greatest use to him in the administration: And these wages he obtained; for when Cicero came to be in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused to see him, and, shutting his gates against those that came to intercede for him, went out at a back door. Cicero, therefore, dreading the issue of the trial, departed privately from Rome.

At this time Cæsar returning from his province*, undertook an affair which rendered him very popular at present, and in its consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and Crassus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he should join the one, the other would be his enemy of course; he therefore set himself to reconcile them; a thing which seemed honourable in itself, and calculated for the public good; but the intention was insidious, though deep laid and covered with the most refined policy: For while the power of the state was divided, it kept it in an *equilibrium*, as the burden of a ship, properly distributed, keeps it from inclining to one side more than another; but when the power came to be all collected into one part, having nothing to counterbalance

* It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile that Cæsar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed with the title of prætor, but two years before. Cæsar returned in the year of Rome 693, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 695.

it, it overset and destroyed the commonwealth. Hence it was, that when some were observing that the constitution was ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæsar and Pompey, Cato said, "You are under "a great mistake: It was not their late disagreement, but "their former union and connection which gave the con-"stitution the first and greatest blow."

To this union Cæsar owed his consulship: And he was no sooner appointed than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by proposing laws for sending out colonies, and for the distribution of lands; by which he descended from the dignity of a consul, and in some sort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus opposed him, and Cato prepared to support Bibulus in the most strenuous manner; when Cæsar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and asked him, before the whole assembly, "Whether he approved his laws?" and upon his answering in the affirmative, he put this farther question, "Then if any one shall with violence op-"pose these laws, will you come to the assistance of the "people?" Pompey answered, "I will certainly come; "and against those who threaten to take the sword, I will "bring both sword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never said any thing so obnoxious; and his friends could only say, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped him. But it appears by the subsequent events, that he was then entirely at Cæsar's devotion: For within a few days, to the surprise of all the world, he married Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been promised to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appease the resentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been before contracted to Faustus, the son of Sylla; and Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

Pompey then filled the city with soldiers, and carried every thing with open force. Upon Bibulus the consul's making his appearance in the *forum*, together with Lucullus and Cato, the soldiers suddenly fell upon him, and broke his *fasces*. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a basket of dung upon the head of Bibulus; and two tribunes of the people who accompanied him, were wounded. The *forum* thus cleared of all opposition, the law passed for the division of lands. The people, caught

by this bait, became tame and tractable in all respects, and without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed; and the two Gauls on this and the other side the Alps and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar for five years, with four complete legions. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius, one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office*; contenting himself with publishing manifestos full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato, on this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced in full senate the calamities which would befal the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, gave up all thoughts of state affairs, and betook himself to repose, as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of government: Upon which Pompey observed, "That it "was more unseasonable for an old man to give himself "up to luxury, than to bear a public employment." Yet, notwithstanding this observation, he soon suffered himself to be effeminated by the love of a young woman; he gave up his time to her; he spent the day with her in his villas and gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs; insomuch that Clodius the tribune began to despise him, and to engage in the boldest designs against him: For after he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus, under pretence of giving him the command in that island; when Cæsar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, because he flattered their inclinations in all the measures he took, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances; he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecutions, Clodius having a crew of profligate and insolent wretches

* Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, such a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, said, it happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.

about him, ascended an eminence, and put the following questions, "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who "is the man that seeks for a man*? Who scratches his "head with one finger†?" And his creatures, like a chorus instructed in their part, upon his shaking his gown, answered aloud to every question, *Pompey*‡.

These things gave Pompey uneasiness, because it was a new thing to him to be spoken ill of, and he was entirely unexperienced in that sort of war. That which afflicted him most, was his perceiving that the senate were pleased to see him the object of reproach, and punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high, that they came to blows in the *forum*, and several were wounded on both sides, and one of the servants of Clodius was observed to creep in among the crowd towards Pompey, with a drawn sword in his hand, he was furnished with an excuse for not attending the public assemblies. Besides, he was really afraid to stand the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuse that might be expected from him, and therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneship, but consulted in private with his friends how to disarm the anger of the senate, and the valuable part of the citizens. Culleo advised him to repudiate Julia, and to exchange the friendship of Cæsar for that of the senate; but he would not hearken to the proposal. Others proposed that he should recal Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the favourite of the senate; and he agreed to that overture. Accordingly, with a strong body of his retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who was to apply to the people in his behalf, and after a scuffle, in which several were wounded, and some slain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return,

* Τις ανης ζηλει ανδρα. Ζηλειν ανδρα, was a proverbial expression brought from Athens to Rome. It was taken originally from Æsop's seeking an honest man with a lanthorn at noonday; and, by degrees, it came to signify the loss of manhood, or the manly character, which loss Pompey was allowed to have sustained in the embraces of Julia.

† *Uno scalpere digito* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman *petit maitre*.

‡ Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in the year of Rome 697, as appears from Dio (Book xxxix.), that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's slave being taken with a sword.

the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to intrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn*, he made Pompey once more master of the Roman empire, both by sea and land; for by this law the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions, in a word, the whole business of the merchant and the husbandman, were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law "was not made on account of the real scarcity of pro-"visions, but that an artificial scarcity was caused for the "sake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by a new "commission, might bring his power to life again, which "was sunk, as it were, in a *deliquium*." Others say, it was the contrivance of the consul Spinther, to procure Pompey a superior employment, that he might himself be sent to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom†.

However, the tribune Canidius brought in a bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey should be sent without an army, and only with two *lictors*, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey did not appear displeased at the bill; but the senate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless, papers were found scattered in the *forum* and before the senate house, importing that Ptolemy himself desired that Pompey might be employed to act for him instead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends, that Ptolemy left Egypt without any necessity, at the persuasion of Theophanes, who was desirous to give Pompey new occasions to enrich himself and the honour of new commands: But the baseness of Theophanes does not so much support this story, as the disposition of Pompey discredits it; for there was nothing so mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he sent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When

* The law also gave Pompey proconsular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy. *Dio*, lib. xxxix.

† Ptolemy Auletes, the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects, and forced to fly, applied to the consul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to re-establish him in his kingdom. *Dio, ubi supra.*

he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind sprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to sea; but he was the first to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor, with these decisive words, "It is necessary to go; is it not necessary to live?" His success was answerable to his spirit and intrepidity: He filled the markets with corn, and covered the sea with his ships; insomuch that the overplus afforded a supply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the mean time the wars in Gaul lifted Cæsar to the first sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a great distance from Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome, and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object: He exercised his army, indeed, in those expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diversions of the field; by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Consequently, when he passed the Alps, and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women who hastened to pay their respects to him, there were two hundred senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number; and there were no fewer than a hundred and twenty proconsuls and prætors, whose *fasces* were to be seen at the gates of Cæsar. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them, by sending a great number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces, and take the command of armies, according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had, for five years more.

As soon as this treaty got air, the principal persons in Rome were highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then consul, planted himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether they intended to stand for the "consulship?" Pompey spoke first, and said*, "Per-"haps he might, perhaps he might not." Crassus answered with more moderation, "He should do what "might appear most expedient for the commonwealth." As Mercellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, and seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey said, "Where "is the honour of that man, who has neither gratitude "nor respect for him who made him an orator, who res-"cued him from want, and raised him to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius was persuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up. "For the dispute," he told him, "was not "for the consulship, but in defence of liberty against "tyrants." Pompey and his adherents saw the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all the senate was on his side. Consequently they were afraid that, so supported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. They resolved, therefore, not to suffer Domitius to enter the *forum*, and sent a party of men well armed, who killed Melitus, the torchbearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were not conducted with more moderation. For, in the first place, when the people were going to choose Cato prætor, at the instant their suffrages were to be taken, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds†. Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antias and Vatinius prætors. Then, in pursuance of their

* Dio makes him return an answer more suitable to his character —"It is not on account of the virtuous and the good that I desire "any share in the magistracy, but that I may be able to restrain the "ill-disposed and the seditious."

† This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, was very right in attempting to put a stop to that means of dismissing an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate should make any observations on the heavens while the people were assembled.

agreement with Cæsar, they put Trebonius, one of the tribunes, on proposing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was continued for five years more to Cæsar; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæsar, at his request, for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which were killed five hundred lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle*. These things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their displeasure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. Whether it was his passion for her, or hers for him, that kept him so much with her, is uncertain. For the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing was more talked of than the fondness of that young woman for her husband; though at that age his person could hardly be any great object of desire. But the charm of his fidelity was the cause, together with his conversation, which, notwithstanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtezan Flora to be a sufficient evidence. This strong attachment of Julia appeared on occasion of an election of ædiles. The people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey, that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, such was her terror and the agitation of her spirits, that she miscarried. After this, those who complained most of Pom-

* Dio says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than eighteen of them; and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people; who, in compassion, saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.

pey's connection with Cæsar, could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in childbed; nor did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corpse, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. This they did more out of regard to the young woman, than either to Pompey or Cæsar; yet in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæsar; though at a distance, had a greater share, than any respect for Pompey, who was on the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than restrained the ambition, of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after, that Crassus was slain by the Parthians; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept some measures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may say with the comic poet,

> ———High spirit of emprize
> Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,
> And dip their hands in dust.———

So little able is fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind; when such a weight* of power, and extent of command, could not satisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and read that the gods had divided the universe into three shares†, and each was content with that which fell to his lot, and yet these men could not think the Roman empire sufficient for two of them.

* *Weight* is not the literal signification of βαθος, but as near as we could bring it; for, depth of power would not sound well in English. Τοσουτον βαθος ἡγεμονιας is an expression similar to that of St. Paul, Rom. xi. 33. Ὦ ΒΑΘΟΣ πλουτου και σοφιας και γνωσεως Θεου.

† Plutarch alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the Iliad, where Neptune says to Iris:

> "Assign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
> "Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;
> "O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
> "Ethereal Jove extends his high domain;
> "My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
> "And hush the rearings of the sacred deep." *Pope.*

Yet Pompey, in an address to the people at that time, told them, "He had received every commission they had "honoured him with sooner than he expected himself; "and laid it down sooner than was expected by the "world." And, indeed, the dismission of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now being persuaded that Cæsar would not disband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against him by great employments at home; and this without attempting any other innovation: For he would not appear to distrust him; on the contrary, he rather affected to despise him. However, when he saw the great offices of state not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced, and his adversaries preferred for money, he thought it would best serve his cause to suffer anarchy to prevail. In consequence of the reigning disorders, a dictator was much talked of. Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to choose Pompey dictator. Cato opposed it so effectually, that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither asked nor wished for the dictatorship. Cato, upon this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to assist in the support of order and of the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were elected consuls*.

The same anarchy and confusion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion, that it was better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to intrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate, that he should be appointed sole consul: "For by that means," said he, "the "commonwealth will either recover from her disorder,

* In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans, that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they distributed it, without blushing, among the heads of factions; and those who received it, employed force and violence in favour of those persons who paid them; so that scarce any office was disposed of but what had been disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

" or, if she must serve, will serve a man of the greatest " merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion; and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, "He should " never have been the first to oppose such an expedient, " but as it was proposed by another, he thought it ad- " visable to embrace it; for he thought any kind of " government better than anarchy, and knew no man " fitter to rule than Pompey, in a time of so much trou- " ble." The senate came into his opinion, and a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul, and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared sole consul by the *Interrex* Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himself much indebted to his support, and desired his assistance and advice in the cabinet, as to the measures to be pursued in his administration. Cato made answer, "That " Pompey was not under the least obligation to him; for " what he had said was not out of regard to him, but to " his country. If you apply to me," continued he, "I " shall give you my advice in private; if not, I shall in- " form you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato, and the same on all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio*. She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married when very young, to Publius the son of Crassus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms beside her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature; she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she had made considerable improvements by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation, which such studies are apt to produce in women of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many, however, were displeased with this match, on account of the disproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more suitable to his son than to him. Those that were capable of deeper reflection, thought the

* The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

concerns of the commonwealth neglected, which in a distressful case had chosen him for its physician, and confided in him alone. It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity, since it would never have been given him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in a prosperous situation.

His first step was to bring those to account who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and he made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects he behaved with great dignity and honour; and restored security, order, and tranquillity, to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person with a band of soldiers. But when Scipio, his father-in-law, came to be impeached, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser seeing Scipio conducted out of the *forum* to his house by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again exposed Pompey to censure; but he was censured still more, when, after having made a law against encomiums on persons accused, he broke it himself, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to embellish his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, stopped his ears, declaring, "It was not "right for him to hear such embellishments, contrary to "law." Cato, therefore, was objected to and set aside before sentence was passed. Plancus, however, was condemned by the other judges, to the great confusion of Pompey*.

A few days after, Hypsæus, a man of consular dignity, being under a criminal prosecution, watched Pompey's going from the bath to supper, and embraced his knees in the most suppliant manner; but Pompey passed with disdain, and all the answer he gave him was, "That his "importunities served only to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was justly the object of reproach: But all the rest of his conduct merited praise; and he had the happiness to re-establish good order in the commonwealth. He took his father-in-law for his colleague

* Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the success of his eloquence, as appears from his epistle to Marius, lib. vii. ep. 2.

the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thousand talents a-year for the subsistance and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent that some consideration should be had of him too, and his many great and laborious services for his country. They said he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy undisturbed the honours he had won; and that no successor might rob him of the fruit of his labours, or the glory of his actions. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to fence against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship*. Cato opposed this with all his force, and insisted, "That "Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return as a private "man, if he had any favour to ask of his country." And as Pompey did not labour the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose the legions were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, of which, however, he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there was not a town or village which did not solemnize the occasion with festivals. No place could afford room for the crowds that came in from all quarters to meet him; the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and,

* There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate, but Pompey had added a clause which empowered the people to except any man by name from personal attendance.

as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp, afforded a glorious spectacle; but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war: For the joy he conceived on this occasion, added to the high opinion he had of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that, bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune and the glory of his actions upon a sure footing, he gave into the most extravagant presumption, and even contempt of Cæsar; insomuch, that he declared, "He had no need "of arms, or any extraordinary preparations against him, "since he could pull him down with much more ease than "he had set him up."

Besides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "knew not "his own strength and the influence of his name, if he "sought any other defence against Cæsar, upon whom "his own forces would turn as soon as they saw the "former; such was their hatred of the one, and their "affection for the other."

Pompey was so much elated at this account, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said, that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, he bade them, with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain: "For, if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will "appear."

Meantime Cæsar was exerting himself greatly. He was now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but, by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the consul was of the number, and he had fifteen hundred talents* for changing sides: So were also Curio, one of the tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendship for Curio, had stood engaged with him for the debt.

* 310,685l. Sterling. With this money he built the stately *Basilica*, that afterwards bore his name.

It is said, that when one of Cæsar's officers, who stood before the senate-house, waiting the issue of the debates, was informed that they would not give Cæsar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand upon his sword, and said, " But this shall give it."

Indeed, all the actions and preparations of his general tended that way; though Curio's damands in behalf of Cæsar seemed more plausible. He proposed, that either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Cæsar suffered to keep his. " If they are both reduced " to a private station," said he, " they will agree upon rea- " sonable terms; or, if each retains his respective power, " they will be satisfied: But he who weakens the one, " without doing the same by the other, must double that " force which he fears will subvert the government*."

Hereupon, Marcellus the consul called Cæsar a public robber, and insisted that he should be declared an enemy to the state, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piso, prevailed that a farther inquiry should be made into the sense of the senate. He first proposed, that such as were of opinion, " That " Cæsar should disband his army, and Pompey keep his," should draw to one side of the house, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he proposed, that the number of those should be taken, whose sense it was, " That both should lay down their arms, and neither re- " main in command;" upon which question, Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the rest†. Curio, proud of his victory, ran in transports of joy to the assembly of the people, who received him with the loudest plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not present at the debate in the house; for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city: But Marcellus rose up, and said, " I will no longer sit to hear " the matter canvassed; but, as I see ten legions have " already passed the Alps, I will send a man to oppose " them in behalf of my country."

* Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonstrated, that, in the present case, a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of Spain and the proconsul of Gaul, since the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

† Dio, on the contrary, affirms that, upon this question, the senate were almost unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæsar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius and Curio.

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the *forum*, followed by the senate, and when he was in sight of Pompey without the gate, he said, "Pompey, I charge you to "assist your country; for which purpose you shall make "use of the troops you have, and levy what new ones you "please." Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the next year, said the same. But when Pompey came to make the new levies, some absolutely refused to inlist; others gave in their names in small numbers and with no spirit; and the greatest part cried out, "A peace! A peace!" For Antony, notwithstanding the injunctions of the senate to the contrary, had read a letter of Cæsar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He proposed, that both Pompey and he should resign their governments and dismiss their forces, and then come and give account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, would not assemble the senate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. He proposed that Cæsar should give up Gaul, and disband the greatest part of his army, and keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another consulship. As Pompey received this proposal very ill, Cæsar's friends were persuaded to agree that he should keep only one of those two legions: But Lentulus was against it, and Cato cried out, "That "Pompey was committing a second error, in suffering him-"self to be so imposed upon." The reconciliation, therefore, did not take effect.

At the same time news was brought that Cæsar had seized Arminum, a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, indeed, was not true. He advanced with only three hundred horse and five thousand foot; the rest of his forces were on the other side the Alps, and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to put his adversaries in confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. When he came to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing with himself the greatness of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of

immense depth, he silenced his reason and shut his eyes against the danger; and crying out, in the Greek language, "The die is cast," he marched over with his army.

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Tullus asked him*, what forces he had ready for the war; and as he hesitated in his answer, and only said at last, in a tone of no great assurance, "That he "had the two legions lately sent him back by Cæsar, and "that out of the new levies he believed he should shortly "be able to make up a body of thirty thousand men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have deceived us!" and gave it as his opinion, that ambassadors should immediately be dispatched to Cæsar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwise of no ill character, but who, by an insolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "Stamp upon the ground, and call forth "the armies he had promised."

Pompey bore this ill-timed reproach with great mildness; and when Cato put him in mind of the warnings he had given him, as to Cæsar, from the first, he said, "Cato, indeed, had spoken more like a prophet, and *he* "had acted more like a friend." Cato then advised that Pompey should not only be appointed general, but invested with a discretionary power; adding, that "those who "were the authors of great evils, knew best how to cure "them." So saying, he set out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almost all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the whole face of things. Those who lived out of Rome, fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it, abandoned it as fast. They saw, that in such a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs, the well disposed part of the city wanted strength, and that the ill disposed were so refractory that they could not be managed by the magistrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the passion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same;

* Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey at last caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected*. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partizans of Cæsar; and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general: Nay, the number of those who followed him out of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed, in a good measure the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbade him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death, adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do it than "to say it." Metellus being thus frightened off, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey; hastening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundusium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. At the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brun-

* The Latin word *tumultus*, which Plutarch has rendered ταραχη, is a very incomprehensive one. The Romans did not care to call the commotions which happened among them, or near them, before direct hostilities were commenced, by the name of war; they distinguished them by the name of *tumultus*.

dusians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the streets, except two which led down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbour and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence*, he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and in his eagerness to pursue, would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the trenches, had not the Brundusians informed him of them. He then avoided the streets†, and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were set out, except two that had not many soldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar, however, could not help wondering, that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner. Cicero‡, too, blamed him for imitating the conduct of Themistocles rather than that of Pericles, when the posture of his affairs more resembled the circumstances of the latter. On the other had, the steps which Cæsar took showed he was afraid of having the war drawn out to any length: For having taken Numerius||, a friend of Pompey's, he had sent him to Brundusium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reasonable terms: But Numerius, instead of returning with an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Cæsar thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, and he would have been

* Cæsar besieged the place nine days, during which he not only invested it on the land-side, but undertook to shut up the port by a *staccado* of his own invention. However, before the work could be completed, Pompey made his escape.

† Φυλαττομενος την πολιν, και κυκλω περεων, perhaps means, "That he avoided the principal streets, and came by many wind-"ings and turnings to the haven."

‡ Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

|| Cæsar calls him *Cn. Magius*. He was Master of Pompey's Board of Works.

glad to have gone immediately in pursuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of shipping, he gave up that design for the present, and marched to Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the meantime Pompey assembled a great army; and at sea he was altogether invincible. For he had five hundred ships of war, and the number of his lighter vessels was still greater. As for his land-forces, he had seven thousand horse, the flower of Rome and Italy*, all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undisciplined soldiers: He therefore exercised them during his stay at Berœa, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exercises of a soldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inspired his troops with new courage, when they saw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military discipline, in heavy armour, on foot; and then mounting his horse, drawing his sword with ease when at full speed, and as dexterously sheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactness, but with such force, that few of the young men could dart it to a greater distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was so great, that it was sufficient to make up a complete senate. Labienus†, who had been honoured with Cæsar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the son of that Brutus who was

* Cæsar on the contrary says, that this body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers. "There were six hundred Galatians, "five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred "Macedonians, five hundred Gauls or Germans, eight hundred "raised out of his own estates, or out of his own retinue;" and so of the rest, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

† It seems very strange, says Dio, that Labienus should abandon Cæsar, who had loaded him with honours and given him the command of all the forces on the other side of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reason for it: "Labienus, elated with "his immense wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himself "to such a degree, as to assume a character very unbecoming a "person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself "upon an equality with Cæsar, who thereupon grew cool towards "him, and treated him with some reserve, which Labienus resent-"ed, and went over to Pompey."

killed by him not very fairly in the Cisalpine Gaul*; a man of spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey before, because he considered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himself under his banners, as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tidius Sextius, though extremely old, and maimed of one leg, repaired among the rest, to his standard in Macedonia; and though others only laughed at the poor appearance he made, Pompey no sooner cast his eyes upon him, than he rose up, and ran to meet him; considering it as a great proof of the justice of his cause, that, in spite of age and weakness, persons should come and seek danger with him, rather than stay at home in safety.

But after Pompey had assembled his senate, and at the motion of Cato, a decree was made, "that no Roman "should be killed, except in battle, nor any city that was "subject to the Romans be plundered," Pompey's party gained ground daily. Those who lived at too great a distance, or were too weak to take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause as much as they were able, and, with words at least, contended for it; looking upon those as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæsar made a merciful use of his victories. He had lately made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he passed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundusium, where he arrived at the time of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he dispatched Vibullius†,

* The former English translator renders this *Galatia*. He ought to have remembered that this Brutus was killed by Germinius, in a village near the Po, by Pompey's order, after he had accepted his submission, if not promised him his life. The authors of the Universal History have copied the error.

† In the printed text it is *Jubius;* but one of the manuscripts gives us *Vibullius*, which is the name he has in *Cæsar's Com.* lib. iii. Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himself any rest till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival, but was no sooner informed of the taking of

one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, "in which they should agree to disband their "armies within three days, renew their friendship, con-"firm it with solemn oaths and then both return to "Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land-forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so that there was not a wind that blew, which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced to such straits, both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle.—Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's intrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes he had the advantage, but one day was in danger of losing his whole army: Pompey fought with so much valour, that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand of them upon the spot; but was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp with them. Cæsar said to his friends on the occasion, "This day the victory had been the "enemy's, had their general known how to conquer*."

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself seemed to give into their opinions, by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities, in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had

Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæsar.

* Yet it may be observed in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and unexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest generals. And we are persuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp, he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's greatest error seems to have been, his suffering himself to be brought to an action, at last, by the importunity of his officers and soldiers, against his better judgment.

been ever invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and countermarches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that, therefore, they wished for nothing so much as a battle. Pompey with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania to Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion Pompey's soldiers had of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæsar is fled." Some called upon the general to pursue; some, to pass over to Italy; others sent their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the *forum*, for the convenience of soliciting the great offices of state; and not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as his opinion, "That they "ought immediately to regain Italy, for that was the "great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, Sardinia, "Corsica, Spain, and both the Gauls would soon submit "to those who were masters there. What should affect "Pompey still more, was, that his native country just by, "stretched out her hands to him as a suppliant; and it "could not be consistent with his honour to let her remain "under such indignities, and in so disgraceful a vassalage "to the slaves and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation, to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when Fortune put it in his power to pursue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law, Scipio, and many other persons of consular dignity, in Greece and Thessaly, a prey to Cæsar, with all their treasures and forces. As for Rome, he should take the best care of her, by fixing the scene of war at the greatest distance from her; that, without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, she might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him, as it were, besieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the best method he could take; and a report was, moreover, brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order, "That "as soon as they had taken off Cæsar, they could do no-"thing better than take off him too." Some say this was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance, but, upon his march against Cæsar, sent him to the sea-coast to take care of the baggage, lest, after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato should soon oblige him to lay down his commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might forever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum "this year." And Lucius Afranius, who lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said, "He was surprised that his accusers should make "any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they called "him), who trafficked for provinces."

These, and many other like sallies of ridicule, had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects; a thing which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander in chief of so many nations, and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain,

though necessary for the preservation of their life and being: For who can say that army was in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor; and others, namely, Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæsar's highpriesthood, as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans, and not that Cæsar and that army who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field? Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first, and took an oath, "That he would not return from the "battle till he had put the enemy to flight." All the other officers swore the same.

The night following, Pompey had this dream*: He thought "he entered his own theatre, and was received "with loud plaudits; after which he adorned the temple "of Venus *the Victorious* with many spoils." This vision, on one side, encouraged him, and on another alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendant of Venus, would be aggrandized at his expence. Besides, a panic† fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awáked him. And about the morning watch, over Cæsar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, there suddenly appeared a great light, from which a stream of fire issued, in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says, he saw it as he was going his rounds.

* At nox felicis Magno pars ultima vitæ
Solicitos vana deceptit imagine somnos.
Nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanæ cernere Plebis,
Attolique suum lætis ad sidera nomen
Vocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantes. *Lucan*, lib. vii.

† *Panic* fears were so called from the terror which the god *Pan* is said to have struck the enemies of Greece with, at the battle of Marathon.

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa*; his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants and beasts of burden were already in motion, when his scouts brought intelligence that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noise and bustle, which indicated an approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this Cæsar said, "The long-wished day is come, "on which we shall fight with men, and not with want "and famine." Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which among the Romans is the signal of a battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts, and every expression of joy; and when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank, as quietly, and with as much skill and ease, as a *chorus* in a tragedy.

Pompey† placed himself in his right wing, over against Antony; and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the centre, op-

* Προ σκοτους, in the printed text, is evidently a corruption. An anonymous manuscript gives us προς Σκοτουσαν. Scotusa was a city of Thessaly. Cæsar was persuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore chose to march in search of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch his opportunity, in some of those movements, to fall upon them.

† It is somewhat surprising, that the account which Cæsar himself has left us of this memorable battle, should meet with contradiction. Yet so it is; Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (*Bell. Civil.* lib. iii.), Pompey was on the left, with the two legions which Cæsar had returned him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain, were in the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened the left with the seven thousand horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of forty-five thousand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order: The tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalised itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at Dyrrhachium, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able to support and reinforce it upon occasion. The rest of Cæsar's forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony

posite Domitius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and supported by the cavalry; for they were almost all ranged on that side, in order to break in upon Cæsar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person. Cæsar seeing the enemy's left wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of their armour, sent for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of reserve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to stir before the attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, and then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as brave men generally do in their eagerness to come to sword in hand, but to reserve them till they came to close fighting, and push them upwards into the eyes and faces of the enemy; "For those fair young dancers," said he, "will never stand the steel aimed at their eyes, "but will fly to save their handsome faces."

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks*, and in that close order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure, as not only tending to lessen the vigour of the blows, which is always greatest in the assailant, but also to damp the fire and spirit of the men; whereas those who advance with impetuosity, and animate each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic valour and superior ardour.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and Pompey's was something more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common man attended

commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvinus the main body. As for Cæsar, he posted himself on the right, over against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight.

* Vide *Cæs. ubi supra.*

This however, must be said in excuse for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have sometimes done as he did.

only to his own concern. But some of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The same arms on both sides, the troops marshalled in the same manner, the same standards, in short, the strength and flower of one and the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its passions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquillity, the greatest and best part of the world was their own: Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were yet to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretence of civilising barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures, could have resisted seventy thousand Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted? Into such a variety of wild and savage countries had these two generals carried their victorious arms: Whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruction; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the first only an artful expedient; and her charms were to form a self-interested compact, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with men, and horses, and arms; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on Cæsar's side who advanced to the charge, was Caius Crastinus*, who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to make good his promise to his general. He was the first man Cæsar saw when he went out of the trenches in the morning; and upon Cæsar's asking him what he thought of the battle, he stretched out his hand, and

* So Cæsar calls him. His name in Plutarch is *Crassianus*, in Appian *Crassinus*.

answered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a glorious "victory, and I shall have your praise this day, either "alive or dead." In pursuance of this promise, he advanced the foremost, and many following to support him, he charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides.

Pompey did not immediately bring on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal, upon which his cavalry retreated a little*; and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry; and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face†. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs, or covered their eyes with their hands, and now fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing which, now stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now, instead of that,

* Αι δε επιτεταγμενναι σπειραι προς την κυκλωσιν επιδραμουσαι, τρισχιλιοι ανδρες, ὑπαντιαζουσι τους πολεμιους.

Amiot and Dacier translate this passage as we have done; though, with a comma after κυκλωσιν, it may possibly bear the sense which the Latin and the former English translator have given it, namely, that they were placed there to prevent the tenth legion from being surrounded; but that does not appear to be a natural construction.

† *Miles. feri faciem.*

saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then took to a precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to say what passed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moon-struck and distracted; and without considering that he was Pompey the Great, or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step towards his camp. A scene which cannot be better painted than in the verses of Homer*:

> But partial Jove espousing Hector's part,
> Shot heav'n-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;
> Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's presence grown,
> Amaz'd he stood, with terrors not his own.
> O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
> And glaring round by tardy steps withdrew. *Pope.*

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sat down, and uttered not a word, till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said, "What! into my camp too!" After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew†. All the other legions fled; and a great slaughter was made in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's

* In the eleventh book of the Iliad, where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

† Cæsar tells us that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them: But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Larissa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the Universal History erroneously say), and after six miles march came up with them: But they not daring to engage troops flushed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. Vide *Cæs. Bell.* liv. iii. c. 80.

side assures us, that of the regular troops there were not above six thousand men killed*.

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a spectacle which showed, in strong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle; the beds were strewed with flowers; the tables covered with cups, and bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle: To such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence they took the field!

When Pompey had got at a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him; and, as he saw he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapt up in such thoughts as we may suppose a man to have, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in one short hour he had lost the glory and the power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where burning with thirst, he threw himself upon his face, and drank out of the river; after which, he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea-coast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burden just ready to sail; the master of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened that this man, the night before, dreamed he saw Pompey come and talk to him, not

* Cæsar says, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners.

in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving the passengers an account of his dream, as persons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to discourse about such matters, when on a sudden, one of the mariners told him he saw a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making signs, by shaking their garments and stretching out their hands. Upon this Peticius stood up, and could distinguish Pompey among them, in the same form as he had seen him in his dream. Then beating his head for sorrow, he ordered the seamen to let down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard; for by his dress he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any farther application, he took him up, and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons Pompey took with him were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and a little after, they saw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earnestness from the shore, and took him up likewise. The master of the ship provided them the best supper he could, and when it was almost ready, Pompey, for want of a servant, was going to wash himself, but Favonius seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet and providing his supper; insomuch, that one who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which Favonius performed these offices, cried out,

> ——The generous mind adds dignity
> To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey, in the course of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and from thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town, with news far different from what Cornelia expected: For, by the flattering accounts which many officious persons had given her, she understood that the dispute was decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to be attended to. The messenger finding her possessed with such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations; but expressing the greatness of Pompey's misfortunes by his tears rather than words, only told her, "She must

" make haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey with one " ship only, and that not his own."

At this news Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as she was just going to fall. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him: " I see my dear husband, your present unhappy condition " is the effect of my ill fortune, and not yours. Alas! " how are you reduced to one poor vessel, who, before " your marriage with Cornelia, traversed this sea with five " hundred galleys? Why did you come to see me, and " not rather leave me to my evil destiny, who have loaded " you too with such a weight of calamities! How happy " had it been for me to have died before I heard that " Publius, my first husband, was killed by the Parthians? " How wise, had I followed him to the grave, as I once " intended! What have I lived for since, but to bring mis- " fortunes upon Pompey the Great*?"

Such, we are assured, was the speech of Cornelia; and Pompey answered, " Till this moment, Cornelia, you " have experienced nothing but the smiles of fortune; and " it was she who deceived you, because she staid with me " longer than she commonly does with her favourites. " But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, and " make another trial of her: For it is no more improbable " that we may emerge from this poor condition, and rise " to great things again, than it was that we should fall " from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable moveables and her servants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their respects to Pompey, and to invite him to their

* Cornelia is represented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortunes of Pompey to her alliance with him; and it seems, from one part of her speech on this occasion, that she should have been given to Cæsar.

O utinam Thalamos invisi Cæsaris issem!

If there were any thing in this, it might have been a material cause of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, must have strengthened himself with the Crassian interest; for Cornelia was the relict of Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus.

city: But he refused to go, and bade them surrender themselves to the conqueror without fear; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this, he turned to Cratippus the philosopher, who was come from the town to see him, and began to complain a little of Providence, and express some doubts concerning it. Cratippus made some concessions, and, turning the discourse, encouraged him to hope better things, that he might not give him pain, by an unseasonable opposition to his arguments; else he might have answered his objections against Providence, by shewing, that the state, and indeed the constitution, was in such disorder, that it was necessary it should be changed into a monarchy. Or this one question would have silenced him, "How do we know, Pompey, that, if you had con-
"quered, you would have made a better use of your good
"fortune than Cæsar?" But we must leave the determinations of heaven to its superior wisdom.

As soon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he set sail, and continued his course, without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and beside picking up a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a considerable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in suffering himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no use of those forces, in which he was confessedly stronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in case of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army capable of making head against the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater mistake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in removing the scene of action to such a distance from the naval forces.

However, as it was necessary to undertake something with the small means he had left, he sent to some cities, and sailed to others himself, to raise money, and to get a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be beforehand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He therefore began to think of retiring to

some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a safe retreat; and when they cast their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia as the most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterwards to send them back with a force sufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes of Lesbos observed, it was madness to leave Egypt, which was distant but three days sail. Besides, Ptolemy*, who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey on his father's account: And should he go then, and put himself in the hands of the Parthians, the most perfidious people in the world? He represented what a wrong measure it would be, if, rather than trust to the clemency of a noble Roman, who was his father-in-law, and be contented with the second place of eminence, he would venture his person with Arsaces†, by whom even Crassus would not be taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely absurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio among barbarians, who thought power consisted in the display of insolence and outrage; and where, if she escaped unviolated, it would be believed she did not, after she had been with those who were capable of treating her with indignity. It is said, this last consideration only prevented his marching to the Euphrates; but it is some doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate, than his opinion, which directed his steps another way.

When it was determined that they should seek for refuge in Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The rest accompanied him, some in ships of war, and some in merchantmen, and they made a safe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was engaged in war with his sister, he proceeded thither, and sent a messenger before him to notify his arrival, and to entreat the king's protection.

* This was Ptolemy Dionysius, the son of Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year of Rome 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharsalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

† From this passage it appears, that Arsaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia; for it was not the proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of him who was at war with Crassus.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime minister, called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleased to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opioion. But who, can, without indignation, consider that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an eunuch, by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric, and by Achillas, an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors these had the greatest influence over him, and were the persons he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, waiting the determination of this respectable board, while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions; some advising the prince to give him an honourable reception, and others to send him an order to depart: But Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong. "If you receive him," said he, "you will have Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey for your master. If you order him off, Pompey may one day revenge the affront, and Cæsar resent your not having put him in his hands: The best method, therefore, is to send for him, and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added, with a smile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achillas: In consequence of which, he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had also acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled, to see how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only in a fishing-boat, came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey, while he was out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meantime, the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey in Latin by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achillas saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow towards

the shore, and a galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He therefore embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened; and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves, named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achillas had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that verse of Sophocles,

> Seek'st thou a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!
> Though free as air before———

These were the last words he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable distance between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and said, "Methinks I remember "you to have been my fellow-soldier;" but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek, that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honour: But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise him with more ease, Septimius came behind, and run him through the body; after which Salvius and Achillas also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both hands and covered his face, and, without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate; only uttering a groan, while they dispatched him with many blows. He was then just fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day*.

* Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he presumed to enter the sanctuary in the temple at Jerusalem, intimate that his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we

Cornelia, and her friends in the galleys, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale as they got out more to sea; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them.

The murderers having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip staid till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with sea-water, and wrapped it in one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral-pile; and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing-boat, which, though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up, and said to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey "the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "But you shall not," said the old Roman, "have this "honour entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers "itself let me have a share in it, that I may not absolute-"ly repent my having passed so many years in a foreign "country, but, to compensate many misfortunes, may "have the consolation of doing some of the last honours* "to the greatest general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day, Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed, because he was upon his voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian shore, and, as he was coasting along, saw the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, standing by it. Upon which he said to himself, "Who has finished his days, and is going to leave his "remains upon this shore?" adding, after a short pause, with a sigh, "Ah! Pompey the Great! perhaps thou "mayest be the man." Lentulus soon after went on shore, and was taken and slain.

forbear, with Plutarch, to comment upon the providential determinations of the Supreme Being. Indeed he fell a sacrifice to as vile a set of people as he had before insulted; for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

* Of touching and wrapping up the body.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæsar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it, and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achillas and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about, a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last, Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, found the wretch in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba*.

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

COMPARED.

SUCH is the account we had to give of the lives of these two great men; and, in drawing up the parallel, we shall previously take a short survey of the difference in their characters.

In the first place, Pompey rose to power, and established his reputation, by just and laudable means; partly by

* Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all considerations of his character, had less justice done him by historians, than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up), his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were both naturally and morally great; his cause, which was certainly, in its original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him. One circumstance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers who rose after the established monarchy have given of his opposition perfectly reconcilable to the prejudice which appears against him, or rather to the reluctance which they have shown to that praise which they seemed to have felt that he deserved. When the commonwealth was no more, and the supporters of its interests had fallen with it, then history itself, not to mention poetry, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and even Plutarch made a sacrifice to imperial power.

the strength of his own genius, and partly by his services to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of despotism. Whereas Agesilaus came to the throne, by methods equally immoral and irreligious; for it was by accusing Leotychidas of bastardy, who his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate son, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king*.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due respect to Sylla during his life, and took care to see his remains honourably interred, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from Lepidus; and afterwards he gave his daughter to Faustus, the son of Sylla. On the other hand, Agesilaus shook off Lysander upon a slight pretence, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the services Pompey received from Sylla were not greater than those he had rendered him; whereas Agesilaus was appointed king of Sparta by Lysander's means, and afterwards captain-general of Greece.

In the third place, Pompey's offences against the laws and the constitution, were principally owing to his alliances, to his supporting either Cæsar or Scipio (whose daughter he had married) in their unjust demands. Agesilaus not only gratified the passion of his son, by sparing the life of Sphodrias, whose death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians; but he likewise screened Phœbidas, who was guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and it was visibly for the sake of his crime that he took him into his protection. In short, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance, or a timorous complaisance for his friends, Agesilaus brought as great distresses upon the Spartans, through a spirit of obstinacy and resentment; for such was the spirit that kindled the Bœotian war.

If, when we are mentioning their faults, we may take notice of their fortune, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedæmonians were sufficiently forewarned of the danger of a lame reign, and yet Agesilaus would not suffer them to avail themselves of that warning†. Nay, supposing Leotychidas a mere

* See the life of Agesilaus.

† It is true, the latter part of Agesilaus's reign was unfortunate, but the misfortunes were owing to his malice against the Thebans,

stranger, and as much a bastard as he was; yet the family of Eurytion could easily have supplied Sparta with a king who was neither spurious nor maimed, had not Lysander been industrious enough to render the oracle obscure for the sake of Agesilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer measure than that of Agesilaus, when in the distress of the Spartans how to proceed against the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws should be silent for that day. We have nothing of Pompey's that can possibly be compared to it; on the contrary, he thought himself exempted from observing the laws he had made, and that his transgressing them showed his friends his superior power: Whereas Agesilaus, when under a necessity of contravening the laws, to save a number of citizens, found out an expedient which saved both the laws and the criminals. I must also reckon among his political virtues, his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the *scytale*, which ordered him to leave Asia in the height of his success: For he did not, like Pompey, serve the commonwealth only in affairs which contributed to his own greatness; the good of his country was his great object, and, with a view to that, he renounced such power and so much glory as no man had either before or after him, except Alexander the Great.

If we view them in another light, and consider their military performances; the trophies which Pompey erected were so numerous, the armies he led so powerful, and the pitched battles he won so extraordinary, that I suppose Xenophon himself would not compare the victories of Agesilaus with them; though that historian, on account of his other excellencies, has been indulged the peculiar privilege of saying what he pleased of his hero.

There was a difference too, I think, in their behaviour to their enemies, in point of equity and moderation. Agesilaus was bent upon enslaving Thebes, and destroyed Messene; the former the city from which his family sprung, the

and to his fighting (contrary to the laws of Lycurgus) the same enemy so frequently, that he taught them to beat him at last.

Nevertheless, the oracle, as we have observed in a former note, probably meant the lameness of the kingdom, in having but one king instead of two, and not the lameness of the king.

latter Sparta's sister colony*; and in the attempt he was near ruining Sparta itself. On the other hand, Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates, bestowed cities on such as were willing to change their way of life; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot, he rather chose to make him an ally; on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression, "I prefer the glory that will last forever, to "that of a day."

But if the pre-eminence in military virtue is to be decided by such actions and counsels as are most characteristical of the great and wise commander, we shall find that the Lacedæmonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the first place, he never abandoned his city, though it was besieged by seventy thousand men, while he had but a handful of men to oppose them with, and those lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey†, upon Cæsar's advancing with five thousand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to so trifling a force, or failing in his intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight he carried off his own wife and children, but he left those of the other citizens in a defenceless state; when he ought either to have staid and conquered for his country, or to have accepted such conditions as the conqueror might impose, who was both his fellow-citizen and his relation. A little while before, he thought it unsupportable to prolong the term of his commission, and to grant him another consulship; and now he suffered him to take possession of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That he considered him, "and all the other inhabitants as his prisoners."

If it is the principal business of a general to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is stronger, and how to avoid being compelled to one when he is weaker,

* For Hercules was born at Thebes, and Messene was a colony of the Heraclidæ, as well as Sparta. The Latin and French translators have mistaken the sense of this passage.

† Here is another egregious instance of Plutarch's prejudice against the character of Pompey. It is certain, that he left not Rome till he was well convinced of the impossibility of maintaining it against the arms of Cæsar: For he was not only coming against it with a force much more powerful than is here mentioned, but he had rendered even a siege unnecessary, by a previous distribution of his gold amongst the citizens.

Agesilaus understood that rule perfectly well, and, by observing it, continued always invincible: But Pompey could never take Cæsar at a disadvantage; on the contrary he suffered Cæsar to take the advantage of him, by being brought to hazard all in an action at land; the consequence of which was, that Cæsar became master of his treasures, his provisions, and the sea itself, when he might have preserved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As for the apology that is made for Pompey in this case, it reflects the greatest dishonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been so much dispirited and disturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgment, it would have been pardonable: But for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and whose tent their senate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors to those who staid and acted as prætors and consuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to serve as a private soldier, but had made all his campaigns with the greatest reputation as general; for such a one to be forced, by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called Agamemnon, to risk the fate of the whole empire, and of liberty, upon the cast of a single die—who can bear it?—If he dreaded only present infamy, he ought to have made a stand at first, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themistocles, to look upon the delaying a battle in Thessaly as a dishonour: For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharsalia as the lists in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome, nor was he summoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwise forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities; nay, his command of the sea left the whole earth to his choice, had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaus himself.

Agesilaus certainly had no less tumults to encounter in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions; nor were the calumnies and slanders he met with in Egypt, from the madness of the king, less grating, when he advised that prince to lie still for a time. Yet, by pursuing the sage measures he had first fixed

upon, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but kept Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her; nay he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans; for, by keeping the Spartans from their ruin, which they were so obstinately bent upon, he put it in their power to conquer afterwards. Hence it was that Agesilaus was praised by the persons whom he had saved by violence; and Pompey, who committed an error in complaisance to others, was condemned by those who drew him into it. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law, Scipio, who, wanting to convert to his own use the treasures he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action, under pretence that the supplies would soon fail: But, supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor in consequence of being so deceived, have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes that mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity; the other, without any necessity or sufficient cause, listed himself in the service of a barbarous prince, to raise a fund for carrying on the war with the Greeks: So that, if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to them. The one was betrayed by those in whom he put his trust; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.

ALEXANDER.

IN this volume we shall give the Lives of Alexander the Great, and of Cæsar who overthrew Pompey; and, as the quantity of materials is so great, we shall only premise, that we hope for indulgence, though we do not give the actions in full detail, and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary; since we are not writing Histories, but Lives. Nor is it always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a

short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character, more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeness in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears, and run over the rest with a more careless hand; so we must be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a real likeness of these great men, and leave to others the circumstantial detail of their labours and achievements.

It is allowed as certain, that Alexander was a descendant of Hercules by Caranus*, and of Æacus by Neoptolemus. His father Philip is said to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias, in the mysteries at Samothrace; and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, because she was left an orphan. The night before the consummation of the marriage, she dreamed, that a thunderbolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itself far and wide before it disappeared. And some time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he sealed up the queen's womb with a seal, the impression of which he thought was a lion. Most of the interpreters believed the dream announced some reason to doubt the honour of Olympias, and that Philip ought to look more closely to her conduct: But Aristander of Telmesus said, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant; for a seal is never put upon any thing that is empty; and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lion-like courage. A serpent was also seen lying by Olympias as she slept; which is said to have cooled Philip's affections for her more than any thing, insomuch that he seldom repaired to her bed afterwards; whether it was that he feared some enchantment from her, or abstained from her embraces because he thought them taken up by some superior being.

* Caranus the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, made himself master of Macedonia in the year before Christ 794; and Alexander the Great was the twenty-second in descent from Caranus; so that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The descent by his mother's side is not so clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is sufficient to know, that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and sister to Arymbas.

Some, indeed, relate the affair in another manner. They tell us, that the women of this country were of old extremely fond of the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus; and that they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*, because in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus; from whom the Greek word *threscuein* seems to be derived, which signifies the exercise of extravagant and superstitious observances. Olympias being remarkably ambitious of these inspirations, and desirous of giving the enthusiastic solemnities a more strange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame serpents, which often creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, and entwining about the *thyrsuses* and garlands of the women, struck the spectators with terror.

Philip, however, upon this appearance*, sent Chiron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle at Delphi; and we are told, Apollo commanded him to sacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that god. It is also said he lost one of his eyes, which was that he applied to the chink of the door, when he saw the god in his wife's embraces in the form of a serpent. According to Eratosthenes, Olympias, when she conducted Alexander on his way in his first expedition, privately discovered to him the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity suitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm that she absolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and used to say, "Will Alexander never leave embroiling "me with Juno?"

Alexander† was born on the sixth of Hecatombœon‡ [July], which the Macedonians call *Lous*, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt; upon

* We do not think the word φασμα relates to the dream, but to the appearing of the serpent

† In the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, before Christ 354.

‡ Ælian (*Var. Hist.* l. ii. c. 25.) says expressly that Alexander was born and died in the sixth day of the month Thargelion: But supposing Plutarch right in placing his birth in the month Hecatombœon, yet not that month, but Bœdromion then answered to the Macedonian month Lous; as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's still preserved in the Orations of Demosthenes, (*in Orat. de Corona*). In after times, indeed, the month Lous answered to Hecatombœon, which, without doubt was the cause of Plutarch's mistake.

which Hegesias, the Magnesian had uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames. "It is no "wonder," said he, "that the temple of Diana was "burnt, when she was at a distance, employed in bringing "Alexander into the world." All the *magi* who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign which betokened a much greater misfortune; they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, "That the day had "brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia."

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa*, and three messengers arrived the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his race-horse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed of Alexander. His joy on that occasion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the soothsayers increased it, by assuring him, that his son, who was born in the midst of three victories, must of course prove invincible.

The statues of Alexander that most resembled him, were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors most affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but did not succeed as to his complection. He overcharged the colouring, and made his skin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast. We read in the memoirs of Aristoxenus, that a most agreeable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body were so fragrant, that they perfumed his under garments. The cause of this might possibly be his hot temperament: For, as Theophrastus conjectures, it is the concoction of moisture by heat which produces sweet odours; and hence it is that those countries which are driest, and most parched with heat, produce spices of the best kind, and in the greatest

* This is another mistake. Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the one hundred and third Olympiad; for which we have again the authority of Demosthenes, who was Philip's cotemporary, (*in Orat. cont. Leptinem*) as well as of Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi.

quantity; the sun exhaling from the surface of bodies that moisture which is the instrument of corruption. It seems to have been the same heat of constitution which made Alexander so much inclined to drink, and so subject to passion.

His continence showed itself at an early period; for, though he was vigorous, or rather violent, in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body; and if he tasted them, it was with great moderation. But there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all sorts of honour that he courted, nor did he seek it in every track, like his father Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any sophist could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impression of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was asked by some of the people about him, "whether he would not run in the Olympic race?" (for he was swift of foot), answered, "Yes, if I had kings for "my antagonists." It appears that he had a perfect aversion to the whole exercise of wrestling*; for though he exhibited many other sorts of games and public diversions, in which he proposed prizes for tragic poets, for musicians who practised upon the flute and lyre, and for rhapsodists too; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all manner of wild beasts, and with fencing or fighting with the staff, yet he gave no encouragement to boxing or to the *Pancratium*†.

Ambassadors from Persia happening to arrive in the absence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his stead, gained upon them greatly by his politeness and solid sense. He asked them no childish or trifling question, but inquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia: He desired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia consisted. The ambassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewd-

* Philopœmen, like him, had an aversion for wrestling; because all the exercises which fit a man to excel in it, make him unfit for war.

† If it be asked, How this shows that Alexander did not love wrestling? the answer is, The *Pancratium* was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

ness of Philip as nothing in comparison of the lofty and enterprising genius of his son. Accordingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken some strong town, or won some great battle, the young man, instead of appearing delighted with it, used to say to his companions, "My father will go on conquering, till there be nothing "extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleasure nor riches, but valour and glory were his great objects, he thought, that, in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father grew greater, there would be less room for him to distinguish himself. Every new acquisition of territory he considered as a diminution of his scene of action; for he did not desire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleasure, but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exercise of great ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas, a relation of the queen's, and a man of great severity of manners, was at the head of them. He did not like the name of preceptor, though the employment was important and honourable; and indeed his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He who had both the name and business of preceptor, was Lysimachus the Acarnanian; a man who had neither merit nor politeness, nor any thing to recommend him, but his calling himself Phœnix; Alexander, Achilles; and Philip, Peleus. This procured him some attention, and the second place about the prince's person.

When Philonicus the Thessalian offered the horse named Bucephalus in sale to Philip, at the price of thirteen talents*, the king, with the prince and many others, went into the field to see some trial made of him. The horse appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was so far from suffering himself to be mounted, that he would not bear to be spoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was displeased at their bringing him so

* That is, 2518l. 15s. Sterling. This will appear a moderate price, compared with what we find in Varro (*de Re Rustic.* l. iii. c. 2.), viz. That Q. Axius, a senator, gave four hundred thousand sesterces for an ass; and still more moderate, when compared with the account of Tavernier, that some horses in Arabia were valued at a hundred thousand crowns.

Pliny, in his Natural History, says the price of Bucephalus was sixteen talents—*Sedecem talentis ferunt ex Philonici Pharsalli grege emptum. Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. cap. 42.

wild and ungovernable a horse, and bade them take him away: But Alexander, who had observed him well, said, "What a horse are they losing, for want of skill and spi-"rit to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of this; but, upon the prince's often repeating the same expression, and showing great uneasiness, he said, "Young "man, you find fault with your elders, as if you knew "more than they, or could manage the horse better."— "And I certainly could," answered the prince. "If you "should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you "submit to for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of "the horse."

Upon this all the company laughed, but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horse, and laying hold on the bridle, turned him to the sun; for he had observed, it seems, that the shadow which fell before the horse, and continually moved as he moved, greatly disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he kept speaking to him softly and stroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his seat very safe. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or using either whip or spur, he set him agoing. As soon as he perceived his uneasiness abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in a full gallop, and pushed him on both with the voice and the spur.

Philip and all his court were in great distress for him at first, and a profound silence took place: But when the prince had turned him and brought him straight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and, kissing him, said, "Seek "another kingdom, my son, that may be worthy of thy "abilities; for Macedonia is too small for thee." Perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority, because he would not be forced to any thing, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reason, he took the method of persuasion rather than of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be trusted to the ordinay masters in music, and the common circle of sciences; and that his genius (to use the expressions of Sophocles) required

The rudder's guidance, and the curb's restraint.

He therefore sent for Aristotle, the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers; and the reward he gave him for forming his son was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to slavery*. He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and literary conversations; where they still show us Aristotle's stone seats and shady walks.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was also instructed in those more secret and profound branches of science, which they call *acroamatic* and *epoptic*, and which they did not communicate to every common scholar†: For when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books in which those points were discussed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the course he had taken. The following is a copy of it:

"Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did wrong "in publishing the *acroamatic* parts of science‡. In what "shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge "which we gained from you, be made common to all the "world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of "mankind in the superior parts of learning, than in the "extent of power and dominion. Farewell."

Aristotle, in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuse for himself, made answer, that those points were published and not published. In fact, his book of metaphysics is written in such a manner, that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it others: It serves only to refresh the memories of those who have been taught by a master.

It appears also to me, that it was by Aristotle rather than any other person, that Alexander was assisted in the study of physic, for he not only loved the theory, but

* Pliny the elder, and Valerius Maximus tell us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and this when Aristotle was very old.

† The scholars in general were instructed only in the *exoteric* doctrines. Vide *Aul. Gell.* lib. xx. cap. 5.

‡ Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*.

the practice too, as is clear from his epistles, where we find that he prescribed to his friends medicines and a proper *regimen*.

He loved polite learning too, and his natural thirst of knowledge made him a man of extensive reading. The Iliad, he thought, as well as called, a portable treasure of military knowledge; and he had a copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called *the casket copy**. Onesicritus informs us, that he used to lay it under his pillow with his sword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Asia, he wrote to Harpalus for a supply; who sent him the works of Philistus, most of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and the Dithyrambics of Telestus† and Philoxenus.

Aristotle was the man he admired in his younger years, and, as he said himself, he had no less affection for him than for his own father: "From the one he derived the bles-" sing of life, from the other the blessing of a good life." But afterwards he looked upon him with an eye of suspicion. He never, indeed, did the philosopher any harm; but the testimonies of his regard being neither so extraordinary nor so endearing as before, he discovered something of a coldness. However, his love of philosophy, which he was either born with, or at least conceived at an early period, never quitted his soul; as appears from the honours he paid Anaxarchus, the fifty talents he sent Xenocrates‡, and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went upon his expedition against Byzantium, Alexander was only sixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia, and keeper of the seal.

* He kept it in a rich casket found among the spoils of Darius. A correct copy of this edition, revised by Aristotle, Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, was published after the death of Alexander. "Darius," said Alexander, "used to keep his ointments in this "casket; but I, who have no time to anoint myself, will convert "it to a nobler use."

† Telestus was a poet of some reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Aristratus the Sicyonian tyrant. Protogenes was sent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's displeasure; but the celerity and excellence of his execution saved him. Philoxenus was his scholar. Philistus was an historian often cited by Plutarch.

‡ The philosopher took but a small part of this money, and sent the rest back; telling the giver he had more occasion for it himself, because he had more people to maintain.

The Medari* rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronea against the Greeks, and is said to have been the first man that broke the *sacred band* of Thebans. In our times an old oak was shown near the Cephisus, called *Alexander's oak*, because his tent had been pitched under it; and a piece of ground at no great distance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early display of great talents made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard the Macedonians call Alexander *king*, and him only *general*. But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours caused in his family, and the bickerings among the women dividing the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son; all which were heightened by Olympias, who, being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inspired Alexander with unfavourable sentiments of his father. The misunderstanding broke out into a flame on the following occasion: Philip fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, at an unseasonable time of life, and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedonians to entreat the gods that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, said, "What then, dost thou take me for a bastard?" and at the same time he threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip rose up and drew his sword; but, fortunately for them both, his passion and the wine he had drank, made him stumble and fall. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, said, "Men of Macedon, see "there the man who was preparing to pass from Europe "into Asia! he is not able to pass from one table to an-"other without falling." After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

* We know of no such people as the Medari; but a people called Mædi there was in Thrace, who, as Livy tells us (l. xxvi.), used to make inroads into Macedonia.

In the mean time, Demaratus, who had engagements of hospitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account, could speak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a visit. After the first civilities, Philip asked him "What sort of agreement subsisted among the Greeks?" Demaratus answered, "There is, doubtless, much propriety in your inquiring after the harmony of Greece, "who have filled your own house with so much discord "and disorder." This reproof brought Philip to himself, and through the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed with Alexander to return.

But another event soon disturbed their repose. Pexodorus, the Persian governor in Caria, being desirous to draw Philip into a league offensive and defensive, by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Aridæus, the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus into Macedonia to treat about it. Alexander's friends and his mother now infused notions into him again, though perfectly groundless, that, by so noble a match, and the support consequent upon it, Philip designed the crown for Aridæus.

Alexander, in the uneasiness these suspicions gave him, sent one Thessalus, a player, into Caria, to desire the grandee to pass by Aridæus, who was of spurious birth, and deficient in point of understanding, and to take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more pleased with this proposal: But Philip no sooner had intelligence of it, than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along with him Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of his most intimate friends and companions, and, in his presence, reproached him with his degeneracy and meanness of spirit, in thinking of being son-in-law to a man of Caria, one of the slaves of a barbarian king. At the sametime he wrote to the Corinthians*, insisting that they should send Thessalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Niarchus, Phrygius and Ptolemy, some of the other companions of the prince, he banished. But Alexander afterwards recalled them, and treated them with great distinction.

Some time after the Carian negociation, Pausanias being abused by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not

* Thessalus, upon his return from Asia, must have retired to Corinth; for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria.

having justice done him for the outrage, killed Philip who refused that justice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander did not escape uncensured. It is said when Pausanias applied to him, after having been so dishonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander, by way of answer, repeated that line in the tragedy of Medea*,

The bridal father, the bridegroom, and the bride.

It must be acknowledged, however, that he caused diligent search to be made after the persons concerned in the assassination, and took care to have them punished; and he expressed his indignation at Olympias's cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his absence.

He was only twenty years old when he succeeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties, and implacable animosities. The barbarous nations, even those that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook subjection, and they longed for their natural kings. Philip had subdued Greece by his victorious arms, but not having had time to accustom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confusion, rather than produced any firm settlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous state. The young king's Macedonian counsellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, advised him to give up Greece entirely, or at least to make no attempts upon it with the sword; and to recal the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing measures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the only way to security, and a thorough establishment of his

* This is the 288th verse of the Medea of Euripides. To give the context, Creon says,

Κλυω δ' απειλειν, ως απαγγελλουσι μοι
Τον δοντα, και γαμοντα, και γαμουμενην
Δρασειν τι——

The persons meant in the tragedy were Jason, Creusa, and Creon; and in Alexander's application of it, Philip is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father.

Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, is by Arrian called Eurydice, l. ii. c. 14.

affairs, was to proceed with spirit and magnanimity: For he was persuaded, that if he appeared to abate of his dignity in the least article, he would be universally insulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and put a stop to the rising wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmost expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the same sentiments, he resolved to show them he was no longer a boy, and advanced immediately through the pass of Thermopylæ. "Demosthenes," said he, "called me "a boy while I was in Illyricum, and among the Tri-"balli, and a stripling when in Thessaly; but I will show "him before the walls of Athens that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their sentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the first promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amnesty to all the rest: But the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he should deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited, by sound of trumpet, all men to join them, who chose to assist in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain against forces vastly superior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their strength: But when the Macedonian garrison fell down from the Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were surrounded on all sides, and most of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered, and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the rest of Greece, astonished and intimidated by so dreadful a punishment of the Thebans, would submit in silence. Yet he found a more plausible pretence for his severity, giving out that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, being adopted in pursuance of complaints made against Thebes by the people of Phocis and Platæa. He exempted the priests, all that the Macedonians were bound to by the ties of hospitality, the posterity of Pindar, and such as had opposed the revolt; the rest he sold for slaves, to the num-

ber of thirty thousand. There were above six thousand killed in the battle.

The calamities which that wretched city suffered were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demolished the house of Timoclea, a woman of quality and honour; the soldiers carried off the booty; and the captain, after having violated the lady, asked her whether she had not some gold and silver concealed? She said she had; and taking him alone into the garden, showed him a well, into which, she told him, she had thrown every thing of value, when the city was taken. The officer stooped down to examine the well, upon which she pushed him in, and then dispatched him with stones. The Thracians coming up, seized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander, who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the fearless manner in which she followed that savage crew, that she was a woman of quality and superior sentiments. The king demanded who she was? She answered, "I am the sister of Theagenes, who in capacity "of general, fought Philip for the liberty of Greece, and "fell in the battle of Chæronea." Alexander, admiring her answer, and the bold action she had performed, commanded her to be set at liberty, and her children with her.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, though they expressed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes: For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feast of the great mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received such of the Thebans as escaped the general wreck with all imaginable kindness into their city. But whether his fury, like that of a lion, was satiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a most cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had against them, but desired them to look well to their affairs, because, if any thing happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

It is said, the calamities he brought upon the Thebans gave him uneasiness long after, and, on that account, he treated many others with less rigour. It is certain he imputed the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' dastardly refusal to proceed in the Indian expedition, through which his wars and his glory were left imperfect, to the anger of Bacchus, the

avenger of Thebes. And there was not a Theban who survived the fatal overthrow that was denied any favour he requested of him. Thus much concerning the Theban war.

A general assembly of the Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth, they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him on the occasion, and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he went to see him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun, and, at the approach of so many people, he raised himself up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him, "If there was any "thing he could serve him in?" "Only stand a little out "of my sunshine," said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck with such surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in that carelessness, that, while his courtiers were ridiculing the philosopher as a monster, he said, "If I were not Alexander, "I should wish to be Diogenes."

He chose to consult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpose went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauspicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his question. At first he sent to the prophetess, to entreat her to do her office; but finding she refused to comply, and alleged the law in her excuse, he went himself, and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, she said, "My son, thou art invincible." Alexander hearing this, said, "He wanted no other answer, for he "had the very oracle he desired."

When he was on the point of setting out upon his expedition, he had many signs from the divine powers. Among the rest, the statue of Orpheus in Libethra*,

* This Libethra was in the country of the Odrysæ in Thrace. But beside this city or mountain in Thrace, there was *the Cave of the Nymphs* of Libethra on Mount Helicon, probably so denominated by Orpheus.

which was of cypress wood, was in a profuse sweat for several days. The generality apprehended this to be an ill presage; but Aristander bade them dismiss their fears. "It signified," he said, "that Alexander would perform "actions so worthy to be celebrated, that they would cost "the poets and musicians much labour and sweat."

As to the number of his troops, those that put it at the least, say he carried over thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; and they who put it at the most, tell us his army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse. The money provided for their subsistence and pay, according to Aristobulus, was only seventy talents. Duris says he had no more than would maintain them one month; but Onesicritus affirms that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpose.

However, though his provision was so small, he chose, at his embarkation, to inquire into the circumstances of his friends; and to one he gave a farm, to another a village; to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a post. When in this manner he had disposed of almost all the estates of the crown, Perdiccas asked him, "What "he had reserved for himself?" The king answered, "Hope." "Well," replied Perdiccas, "we who share "in your labours, will also take part in your hopes." In consequence of which, he refused the estate allotted him, and some others of the king's friends did the same. As for those who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he served them with equal pleasure; and by these means most of his Macedonian revenues were distributed and gone. Such was the spirit and disposition with which he passed the Hellespont.

As soon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it with his friends naked, according to the custom that obtains; after which he put a crown upon it. declaring, "He thought that hero extremely happy in "having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after "his death an excellent herald to set forth his praise." As he went about the city to look upon the curiosities, he was asked, whether he chose to see Paris's lyre? "I set but "little value," said he, "upon the lyre of Paris; but it

"would give me pleasure to see that of Achilles, to "which he sung the glorious actions of the brave*."

In the mean time, Darius's generals had assembled a great army, and taken post upon the banks of the Granicus; so that Alexander was under the necessity of fighting there, to open the gates of Asia. Many of his officers were apprehensive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other side; and some thought a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time; for the kings of Macedon used never to march out to war in the month *Daisius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called *the second Artemisius*. And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a passage so late in the day, he said, "The Hellespont would blush, if, after, "having passed it, he should be afraid of the Granicus." At the same time, he threw himself into the stream with thirteen troops of horse; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in spite of the steep banks, which were lined with cavalry well armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down, or covered him with its waves, his motions seemed rather the effects of madness than sound sense. He held on, however, till, by great and surprising efforts, he gained the opposite banks, which the mud made extremely slippery and dangerous.—When he was there, he was forced to stand an engagement with the enemy, hand to hand, and with great confusion on his part; because they attacked his men as fast as they came over, before he had time to form them: For the Persian troops, charging with loud shouts, and with horse against horse, made good use of their spears, and, when those were broken, of their swords.

Numbers pressed hard on Alexander, because he was easy to be distinguished, both by his buckler, and by his crest, on each side of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the point; but he escaped unhurt. After this, Rhœsaces and Spithridates, two officers of great distinction,

* This alludes to that passage in the Ninth Book of the Iliad:

"Amus'd, at ease the godlike man they found,
"Pleas'd with the solemn harp's harmonious sound;
"With these he sooths his angry soul, and sings
"Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings." *Pope.*

attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great address, and received Rhœsaces with such a stroke of his spear upon his breastplate, that it broke in pieces. Then he drew his sword to dispatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. Meantime, Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself up on his horse, gave him a blow with his battle-ax, which cut off his crest, with one side of the plume. Nay, the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his stroke, when the celebrated Clitus* prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time, Alexander brought Rhœsaces to the ground with his sword.

While the cavalry were fighting with so much fury, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no great or long resistance, but soon turned their backs, and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who, making a stand upon an eminence, desired Alexander to give his word of honour that they should be spared: But that prince, influenced rather by his passion than his reason, instead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and was so warmly received, that he had his horse killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this dispute, he had more of his men killed and wounded, than in all the rest of the battle; for here they had to do with experienced soldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by despair.

The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse†; whereas Alexander had no more than thirty-four men killed‡;

* In the original, it is Κλειτος ὁ μεγας, *Clitus the Great.* But in Diodorus (502 and 503), we find Κλειτος ὁ μελας, *Clitus the Black;* and Athenæus (539, C.), mentions Κλειτος ὁ λευκος, *a Clitus the Fair.* Plutarch, therefore, probably wrote it, ὁ μελας.

† Some manuscripts mention only ten thousand foot killed, which is the number we have in Diodorus (505). Arrian (p. 45.) makes the number of horse killed only a thousand.

‡ Arrian (47.) says, there were about twenty-five of the king's *friends* killed; and of persons of less note, sixty horse and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty-five *friends* who had statues. They were erected at Dia, a city of Macedonia, from whence Q. Metellus removed them long after, and carried them to Rome.

nine of which were the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a statue to each of them in brass, the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Greeks might have their share in the glory of the day, he sent them presents out of the spoil: To the Athenians in particular he sent three hundred bucklers. Upon the rest of the spoils he put this pompous inscription, WON BY ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS (EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS), OF THE BARBARIANS IN ASIA. The greatest part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Persians, he sent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs; insomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Persian empire on the maritime side, made its submission. All the other cities followed its example, except Halicarnassus and Miletus; these he took by storm, and subdued all the adjacent country. After this he remained some time in suspense as to the course he should take. One while he was for going, with great expedition, to risk all upon the fate of one battle with Darius; another while he was for first reducing all the maritime provinces, that, when he had exercised and strengthened himself by those intermediate actions and acquisitions he might then march against that prince.

There is a spring in Lycia near the city of the Xanthians, which, they tell us, at that time turned its course of its own accord, and overflowing its banks, threw up a plate of brass, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, signifying, "That the Persian empire would one "day come to a period, and be destroyed by the Greeks." Encouraged by this prophecy, he hastened to reduce all the coast, as far as Phœnice* and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many historians for pompous description, as if it was by the interposition of Heaven, that the sea retired before Alexander, which, at other times, run there with so strong a current, that the breaker-rocks at the foot of the mountain very seldom were left bare. Menander, in his pleasant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies:

* This Phœnice, as Palermius has observed, was a district of Lycia or Pamphylia.

How like great ALEXANDER! do I seek
A friend? Spontaneous he presents himself.
Have I to march where seas indignant roll?
The sea retires, and there I march.

But Alexander himself, in his Epistles, makes no miracle of it*; he only says, "He marched from Phaselis, by "the way called *Climax*."

He had staid some time at Phaselis, and having found in the market place a statue of Theodectes, who was of that place, but then dead, he went out one evening when he had drank freely at supper, in masquerade, and covered the statue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of festivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man with whom he had formerly had a connection, by means of Aristotle and philosophy.

After this he subdued such of the Pisidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot, fastened with cords, made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, "That the "Fates had decreed the empire of the world to the man "who should untie the knot." Most historians say, it was twisted so many private ways, and the ends so artfully concealed within, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and so made many ends instead of two. But Aristobulus affirms, that he easily untied it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself.

* There is likewise a passage in Strabo, which fully proves that there was no miracle in it—"Near the city of Phaselis," says he, "between Lycia and Pamphylia, there is a passage by the sea-side, "through which Alexander marched his army. The passage is "very narrow, and lies between the shore and the mountain Cli-"max, which overlooks the Pamphylian Sea. It is dry at low wa-"ter, so that travellers pass through it with safety; but when the "sea is high it is overflowed. It was then the winter season, and "Alexander, who depended much upon his good fortune, was re-"solved to set out without staying till the floods were abated; so "that his men were forced to march up to the middle in water." *Strab.* lib. xiv.

Josephus refers to this passage of Alexander, to gain the more credit among the Greeks and Romans to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea,

His next acquisitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and there news was braught him of the death of Memnon*, who was the most respectable officer Darius had in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader most trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the upper provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of no less than six hundred thousand combatants; and greatly encouraged besides by a dream, which the *magi* had interpreted rather in the manner they thought would please him, than with a regard to probability. He dreamed, "That he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, "and that Alexander, in the dress which he, Darius, "had formerly worn when one of the king's couriers†, "acted as his servant; after which Alexander went into "the temple of Belus, and there suddenly disappeared." By this heaven seems to have signified that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians, and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who of a simple courier became a king; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave his glory behind him.

* Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek islands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loss whom to employ. While he was in this suspense, Charidemus, an Athenian, who had served with great reputation under Philip of Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Persian interest, attempted to set the king and his ministers right. "While you, Sir," said he to Darius, "are safe, the em-"pire can never be in great danger. Let me, therefore, exhort you "never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able ge-"neral to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men "will be more than sufficient, provided a third of them be mer-"cenaries, to compel him to abandon his enterprise; and if you "will honour me with the command, I will be accountable for the "success of what I advise." Darius was ready to accede to the proposal; but the Persian grandees, through envy, accused Charidemus of a treasonable design, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counsellor and general was condemned and executed. *Diod. Sic.* l. xvii. *Q. Curt.* l. iii.

† In the text Ασγανδης. But it appears from Hesychius and Suidas that it should be read Ασανδης. It is the Persian word *istanda*, stator, (from *stade*, stare) with a Greek termination; and we learn from Cicero that *stator* signifies a courier.

Darius was still more encouraged by Alexander's long stay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cause of his stay was sickness, which some attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whose water is extremely cold. His physicians durst not give him any medicines, because they thought themselves not so certain of the cure as of the danger they must incur in the application; for they feared the Macedonians, if they did not succeed, would suspect them of some bad practice. Philip, the Acarnanian, saw how desperate the king's case was, as well as the rest; but, beside the confidence he had in his friendship, he thought it the highest ingratitude, when his master was in so much danger, not to risk something with him, in exhausting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and found no difficulty in persuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when ready; so desirous was he of a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war.

In the mean time, Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, advising him "to beware of Philip, whom," he said, "Darius had prevailed upon, by presents of infi-"nite value, and the promise of his daughter in marriage, "to take him off by poison." As soon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, without the least marks of suspicion, and at the same time put the letter in his hands. It was a striking situation, and more interesting than any scene in a tragedy; the one reading while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king, with an open and unembarrassed countenance, expressed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour; Philip's look showed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, protesting his fidelity; another while he threw himself down by the bedside, entreating his master to be of good courage, and trust to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was so strong, and overpowered his spirits in such a manner, that at first he was speech-

less, and discovered scarce any sign of sense or life But afterwards he was soon relieved by this faithful physician*, and recovered so well that he was able to show himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he came personally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the disposition of Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the straits in quest of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, so much inferior to him in number, upon large and spacious plains. Darius answered, "He was afraid in that case the enemy would "fly without coming to an action, and Alexander escape "him." "If that is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you no farther uneasiness; for he "will come to seek you, and is already on his march." However, his representations had no effect: Darius set out for Cilicia, and Alexander was making for Syria in quest of him: But happening to miss each other in the night, they both turned back; Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and hastening to meet Darius in the straits; while Darius endeavoured to disengage himself, and recover his former camp; for by this time he was sensible of his error, in throwing himself into ground hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinarus; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties; while, at the same time, this situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander as to the scene of action; but the skilful disposition of his forces contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison of that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent its being surrounded, by stretching out his right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in person, and, fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh, and, according to Chares, by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account he gave Anti-

* In three days time.

pater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him: He only says, he received a wound in his thigh by a sword, and that no dangerous consequences followed it.

The victory was a very signal one; for he killed above a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy*. Nothing was wanting to complete it but the taking of Darius, and that prince escaped narrowly, having got the start of his pursuer only by four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themselves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left most of the baggage in Damascus. The Macedonians had reserved for their master the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the household magnificently clothed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and silver.

As soon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, saying to those about him, "Let us go and refresh "ourselves, after the fatigues of the field, in the bath of "Darius." "Nay, rather," said one of his friends, "in the bath of Alexander; for the goods of the con-"quered are, and should be called, the conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the basons, vials, boxes, and other vases curiously wrought in gold, smelled the fragrant odours of essences, and seen the splendid furniture of spacious apartments, he turned to his friends, and said, "This, then, it seems, it was to be a king*."

As he was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters; and that upon seeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating their misfortunes than rejoicing in his own success, sent Leonatus to assure them, "That Darius was not dead; "that they had nothing to fear from Alexander, for his "dispute with Darius was only for empire; and that they

* Diodorus says a hundred and thirty thousand.

† As if he had said, "Could a king place his happiness in such "enjoyments as these?" For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by the Persian luxury.

" should find themselves provided for in the same manner, " as when Darius was in his greatest prosperity." If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions were still more so. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them out of the spoils with robes, and all the other decorations that were customary. They had as many domestics, and were served in all respects in as honourable a manner as before; indeed, their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them still more noble and princely: Though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies, not only of high rank, but of great modesty and virtue, and took care that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect any danger to their honour: Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple or asylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached, in the most sacred privacy.

It is said the wife of Darius was one of the most beautiful women, as Darius was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the world, and that their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself than to subdue his enemies, and therefore never approached one of them. Indeed, his continence was such, that he knew not any woman before his marriage, except Barsine, who became a widow by the death of her husband Memnon, and was taken prisoner near Damascus. She was well versed in the Greek literature, a woman of the most agreeable temper, and of royal extraction; for her father Artabazus was grandson to a king of Persia*. According to Aristobulus, it was Parmenio that put Alexander upon this connection with so accomplished a woman, whose beauty was her least perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no farther notice of them than to say, by way of jest, " What eye-sores these Persian women are!" He found a counter-charm in the beauty of self-government and sobriety; and, in the strength of that, passed them by as so many statues.

* Son to a king of Persia's daughter.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coast, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus, a Tarentine, with him, who had two beautiful boys to sell, and desired to know whether he chose to buy them. Alexander was so much incensed at this application, that he asked his friends several times, "What base inclina-"tions Philoxenus had ever seen in him, that he durst "make him so infamous a proposal?" In his answer to the letter, which was extremely severe upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to dismiss Theodorus and his vile merchandise together. He likewise reprimanded young Agnon, for offering to purchase Crobylus for him, whose beauty was famous in Corinth. Being informed, that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of some of his mercenaries who served under Parmenio, he ordered that officer to inquire into the affair, and if they were found guilty, to put them to death, as no better than savages bent on the destruction of human kind. In the same letter, speaking of his own conduct, he expresses himself in these terms: "For my part, I "have neither seen, nor desired to see, the wife of Darius; "so far from that, I have not suffered any man to speak "of her beauty before me." He used to say, "That "sleep and the commerce with the sex, were the things "that made him most sensible of his mortality:" For he considered both weariness and pleasure as the natural effects of our weakness.

He was also very temperate in eating. Of this there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he said to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria*. Ada, to express her affectionate regards, sent him every day a number of excellent dishes and a handsome dessert; and at last she sent him some of her best cooks and bakers: But he said, "He had no need "of them; for he had been supplied with better cooks "by his tutor Leonidas; a march before day to dress "his dinner, and a light dinner to prepare his supper."

* This princess, after the death of her eldest brother Mausolus, and his consort Artemisia, who died without children, succeeded to the throne with her brother Hidreus, to whom she had been married. Hidreus dying before her, Pexodorus, her third brother, dethroned her, and after his death his son-in-law Orontes seized the crown: But Alexander restored her to the possession of her dominions.

He added, that "the same Leonidas used to examine the "chests and wardrobes in which his bedding and clothes "were put, lest something of luxury and superfluity should "be introduced there by his mother."

Nor was he so much addicted to wine as he was thought to be. It was supposed so, because he passed a great deal of time at table; but that time was spent rather in talking than drinking; every cup introducing some long discourse: Besides, he never made these long meals but when he had abundance of leisure upon his hands. When business called, he was not to be detained by wine, or sleep, or pleasure, or honourable love, or the most entertaing spectacle, though the motions of other generals have been retarded by some of these things. His life sufficiently confirms this assertion; for, though very short, he performed in it innumerable great actions.

On his days of leisure, as soon as he was risen he sacrificed to the gods; after which he took his dinner sitting. The rest of the day he spent in hunting, or deciding the differences among his troops, or in reading and writing. If he was upon a march which did not require haste, he would exercise himself in shooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full speed. Sometimes also he diverted himself with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals.

On his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreshed with the bath and with oil, he inquired of the stewards of his kitchen, whether they had prepared every thing in a handsome manner for supper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took his meal, and then he eat in a recumbent posture. He was very attentive to his guests at table, that they might be served equally, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already observed, lasted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by conversation than drinking. His conversation, in many respects, was more agreeable than that of most princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of society. His only fault was his retaining so much of the soldier*, as to indulge a troublesome vanity. He would not only boast of his own actions,

* The ancients, in their comic pieces, used always to put the rhodomontades in the character of a soldier. At present the army have as little vanity as any set of people whatever.

but suffered himself to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. These wretches were an intolerable burden to the rest of the company, who did not choose to contend with them in adulation, nor yet to appear behind them in their opinion of their king's achievements.

As to delicacies, he had so little regard for them, that when the choicest fruit and fish were brought him from distant countries and seas, he would send some to each of his friends, and he very often left none for himself. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expence rose with his fortune, till it came to ten thousand *drachmas* for one entertainment. There it stood; and he did not suffer those that invited him to exceed that sum.

After the battle of Issus he sent to Damascus, and seized the money and equipages of the Persians, together with their wives and children. On that occasion the Thessalian cavalry enriched themselves most. They had, indeed, greatly distinguished themselves in the action, and they were favoured with this commission, that they might have the best share in the spoil. Not but the rest of the army found sufficient booty; and the Macedonians having once tasted the treasures and the luxury of the barbarians, hunted for the Persian wealth with all the ardour of hounds upon scent.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their submission; only Tyre held out. He besieged that city seven months, during which time he erected vast mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and invested it on the side next the sea with two hundred galleys. He had a dream in which he saw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamed*, "That Apollo declared he "would go over to Alexander, because he was displeased "with their behaviour in the town." Hereupon, the

* One of the Tyrians dreamed, he saw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magistrates, upon mature deliberation, resolved to fix one end of a gold chain to the statue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. xvii.

Tyrians, as if the god had been a deserter taken in the fact, loaded his statue with chains, and nailed the feet to the pedestal; not scrupling to call him an *Alexandrist*. In another dream Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance; and when he advanced to take him, the savage eluded his grasp. However, at last, after much coaxing and taking many circuits round him, he prevailed with him to surrender himself. The interpreters, plausibly enough divided the Greek term for *satyr* into two, *Sa Tyros*, which signifies, *Tyre is thine*. They still show us a fountain near which Alexander is said to have seen that vision.

About the middle of the siege, he made an excursion against the Arabians who dwelt about Antilibanus. There he ran a great risk of his life on account of his preceptor Lysimachus, who insisted on attending him; being, as he alleged, neither older nor less valiant than Phœnix: But when they came to the hills, and quitted their horses, to march up on foot, the rest of the party got far before Alexander and Lysimachus. Night came on, and, as the enemy was at no great distance, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down with fatigue and the weight of years: Therefore, while he was encouraging and helping him forward, he was insensibly separated from his troops, and had a dark and very cold night to pass in an exposed and dismal situation. In this perplexity, he observed at a distance a number of scattered fires which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his swiftness and activity, as well as accustomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty, by taking a share in the labour and danger, he ran to the next fire. After having killed two of the barbarians that sat watching it, he seized a lighted brand, and hastened with it to his party, who soon kindled a great fire. The sight of this so intimidated the enemy, that many of them fled, and those who ventured to attack him, were repulsed with considerable loss. By these means he passed the night in safety, according to the account we have from Chares.

As for the siege, it was brought to a termination in this manner: Alexander had permitted his main body to repose themselves, after the long and severe fatigues they had undergone, and ordered only some small parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the mean time, Aristander,

his principal soothsayer, offered sacrifices, and one day upon inspecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly asserted among those about him, that the city would certainly be taken that month. As it happened then to be the last day of the month, his assertion was received with ridicule and scorn. The king perceiving he was disconcerted, and making it a point to bring the prophecies of his ministers to completion, gave orders that the day should not be called the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the same time, he called out his forces by sound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous assault than he at first intended. The attack was violent, and those who were left behind in the camp, quitted it to have a share in it, and to support their fellow-soldiers; insomuch that the Tyrians were forced to give out, and the city was taken that very day.

From thence he marched into Syria, and laid siege to Gaza, the capital of that country. While he was employed there, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his shoulder, and then going to perch on the cross cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. The event answered Aristander's interpretation of this sign: Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, but took the city. He sent most of his spoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the present he made him had something particular in it. It consisted of five hundred talents weight of frankincense*, and a hundred of myrrh, and was sent upon the recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It seems Leonidas one day had observed Alexander at a sacrifice throwing incense into the fire by handfuls; upon which he said, "Alexander, when "you have conquered the country where spices grow, "you may be thus liberal of your incense; but, in the "mean time, use what you have more sparingly." He therefore wrote thus: "I have sent you frankincense and "myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl "to the gods."

	lb.	*oz.*	*dwt.*	*gr.*
* The common Attic talent in Troy weight was	56	11	00	$17\frac{1}{7}$
This talent consisted of 60 *minæ;* but there was another Attic talent, by some said to consist of 80, by others of 100 *minæ*. The *minæ* was -	00	11	7	$16\frac{2}{7}$
The talent of Alexandria was - - -	104	0	19	14

A casket being one day brought him, which appeared one of the most curious and valuable things among the treasures and whole equipage of Darius, he asked his friends what they thought most worthy to be put in it? Different things were to be proposed, but he said, "The "Iliad most deserved such a case." This particular is mentioned by several writers of credit. And if what the Alexandrians say, upon the faith of Heraclides, be true, Homer was no bad auxiliary, or useless counsellor, in the course of the war. They tell us, that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a great city, which was to be peopled with Greeks, and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation; but a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation: He thought a person with gray hair, and a very venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines:

> High o'er a gulfy sea the Pharian Isle
> Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile. *Pope.*

Alexander upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the *Canobic* mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an *isthmus*, whose breadth is proportionable to its length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour*. This led him

* Ὡς ϝν ειδε τοπον ευφϝια διαφϝροτα (παινια γαρ εϛιν ισθμω πλατος εχοντι συμμετρον επιειχως διειργωϝσα λιμνην τε πολλην και θαλασσαν εν λιμενι μεγαλω τελευτωσαν.)

Dacier understands this whole passage (which, as he observes, is not without its difficulties) as a description of the Isle of Pharos. It certainly was the Isle of Pharos that formed the harbour, which was a double one, and he adduces the authorities of Cæsar and Virgil to prove that point. But how did the Isle of Pharos lie between, or divide the sea and a great lake? Dacier takes λιμνην τε πολλην και θαλασσαν to mean the same as λιμνωδη θαλασσαν. Alexandria, however, does certainly stand between the Lake Marea, or Mareotis, and the Canopic branch of the Nile, which may well enough be called a sea. And the word διειργωϝσα does undoubtedly signify *separating* or *dividing*.

to declare, that "Homer, among his other admirable qua-
"lifications, was an excellent architect;" and he ordered a city to be planned suitable to the ground, and its appendant conveniences. For want of chalk they made use of flour, which answered well enough upon a black soil, and they drew a line with it about the semicircular bay. The arms of this semicircle were terminated by straight lines, so that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloak.

While the king was enjoying the design, on a sudden an infinite number of large birds of various kinds, rose, like a black cloud, out of the river and the lake, and lighting upon the place, eat up all the flour that was used in marking out the lines. Alexander was disturbed at the omen; but the divin[illegible] encouraged him to proceed, by assuring him, it was a sign that the city he was going to build would be blest with such plenty, as to furnish a supply to all that should repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey*; and beside the fatigue, there was two great dangers attending it: The one was, that their water might fail, in a desert of many days journey which afforded no supply; and the other, that they might be surprised by a violent south wind amidst the wastes of

Our version of this passage is, moreover, confirmed by the account which Diodorus the Sicilian gives of the situation of Alexandria. That historian says, it was seated very commodiously by the haven of Pharos; the streets were so contrived as to admit the cooling breezes, which refreshed the air. Alexander ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn around it, so as to have the sea close on one side, and a great lake on the other. Its form resembled that of a soldier's cloak. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after ages so rich and famous, that there were on its rolls three hundred thousand freemen. *Diod. Sic.* l. xvii.

* As to his motives in this journey, historians disagree. Arrian (l. iii. c. 3.) tells us, he took it in imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of which had consulted that oracle, when he was dipatched against the Gorgons; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Lybia against Antæus, and when he marched into Egypt against Busiris. Now, as Perseus and Hercules gave themselves out to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Ammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (*Serm.* xxv.) informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the Nile; and Justin (l. xi. c. 11.) says the intention of this visit was to clear up his mother's character, and to get himself the reputation of a divine origin.

sand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyses. The wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it devoured full fifty thousand men. These difficulties were considered and represented to Alexander; but it was not easy to divert him from any of his purposes. Fortune had supported him in such a manner, that his resolutions were become invincibly strong; and his courage inspired him with such a spirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he must conquer both time and place.

The divine assistances which Alexander experienced in this march, met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though those extraordinary assistances, in some measure, confirmed the oracles. In the first place, Jupiter sent such a copious and constant rain, as not only delivered them from all fear of suffering by thirst, but, by moistening the sand, and making it firm to the foot, made the air clear, and fit for respiration. In the next place when they found the marks which were to serve for guides to travellers removed or defaced, and in consequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way. When they marched briskly on, the crows flew with equal alacrity; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows also stopped. What is still stranger, Callisthenes avers, that at night, when they happened to be gone wrong, these birds called them by their croaking, and put them right again.

When he had passed the desert, and was arrived at the place, the minister of Ammon received him with salutations from the god, as from a father. And when he inquired, "Whether any of the assassins of his father had "escaped him?" the priest desired he would not express himself in that manner, "for his father was not a mortal." Then he asked, "Whether all the murderers of Philip "were punished; and whether it was given the propo-"nent to be the conqueror of the world?" Jupiter answered, "That he granted him that high distinction; and "that the death of Philip was sufficiently avenged." Upon this, Alexander made his acknowledgments to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the priests with presents of great value. This is the account most historians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in

the letter he wrote to his mother on that occasion, only says, " He received certain private answers from the " oracle, which he would communicate to her, and her " only, at his return."

Some say, Ammon's prophet being desirous to address him in an obliging manner in Greek, intended to say, *O Paidion*, which signifies, *My Son;* but in his barbarous pronunciation, made the word end with an *s*, instead of an *n*, and so said, *O Pai Dios*, which signifies, *O Son of Jupiter*. Alexander (they add) was delighted with the mistake in the pronunciation, and from that mistake was propagated a report that Jupiter himself had called him his son.

He went to hear Psammo an Egyptian philosopher, and the saying of his that pleased him most was, " That " all men are governed by God, for in every thing that " which rules and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy: He said, " God is the common father of men, but more par- " ticularly of the good and virtuous."

When among the barbarians, indeed, he affected a lofty port, such as might suit a man perfectly convinced of his divine original; but it was in a small degree, and with great caution, that he assumed any thing of divinity among the Greeks. We must expect, however, what he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos: " It was not I who " gave you that free and famous city, but your then " Lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip*.

Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he said, " My " friends, this is blood, and not the ichor

" Which blest immortals shed."

One day it happened to thunder in such a dreadful manner, that it astonished all that heard it; upon which, Anaxarchus the sophist, being in company with him, said, " Son of Jupiter, could you do so?" Alexander answered, with a smile, " I do not choose to be so terrible to my " friends as you would have me, who despise my enter- " tainments, because you see fish served up, and not the " heads of Persian grandees." It seems the king had made

* He knew the Athenians were sunk into such meanness, that they would readily admit his pretensions to divinity. So afterwards they deified Demetrius.

Hephæstion a present of some small fish, and Anaxarchus observing it, said, "Why did he not rather send you the "heads of princes*?" intimating, how truly despicable those glittering things are which conquerors pursue with so much danger and fatigue; since, after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing superior to those of other men. It appears, then, from what has been said, that Alexander neither believed, nor was elated with the notion of his divinity, but that he only made use of it as a means to bring others into subjection.

At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; on which occasion the people were entertained with music and dancing, and tragedies were presented in the greatest perfection, not only in respect of the magnificence of the scenery, but the spirit of emulation in those who exhibited them. In Athens persons are chosen by lot out of the tribes to conduct those exhibitions; but in this case the princes of Cyprus vied with each other with incredible ardour; particularly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Pasicrates king of Soli. They chose the most celebrated actors that could be found; Pasicrates risked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Thessalus. Alexander interested himself particularly in behalf of the latter; but did not discover his attachment till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the suffrages. Then, as he left the theatre, he said, "I commend the judges for what they have "done; but I would have given half my kingdom rather "than have seen Thessalus conquered."

However, when Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for not making his appearance on their stage at the feasts of Bacchus, and entreated Alexander to write to them in his favour; though he refused to comply with that request, he paid his fine for him. Another actor,

* Diogenes imputes this saying of Anaxarchus to the aversion he had for Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner, asked him how he liked his entertainment? "It is excellent," replied the guest, "it "wants but one dish, and that a delicious one, the head of a tyrant." Not the heads of the *Satrapæ*, or governors of provinces, as it is in Plutarch. If the philosopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he paid dear for his saying afterwards; for after the death of Alexander, he was forced by contrary winds, upon the coast of Cyprus, where the tyrant seized him, and put him to death.

named Lycon, a native of Scarphia, performing with great applause before Alexander, dexterously inserted in one of the speeches of the comedy, a verse in which he asked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

It was about this time that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of a pacification and future friendship, to pay him ten thousand talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating these proposals to his friends, Parmenio said, " If I were Alex- " ander, I would accept them." " So would I," said Alexander*, " if I were Parmenio." The answer he gave Darius was, " That if he would come to him, he should " find the best of treatment; if not, he must go and seek " him."

In consequence of this declaration he began his march; but he repented that he had set out so soon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princess died in childbed; and the concern of Alexander was great, because he lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the utmost magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bedchamber, named Tireus, who was taken prisoner along with the princesses, at this time made his escape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with news of the queen's death.

Darius smote upon his head, and shed a torrent of tears. After which he cried out, " Ah, cruel destiny of the Per- " sians! Was the wife and sister of their king, not only " to be taken captive, but after her death to be deprived " of the obsequies due to her high rank?" The eunuch answered, " As to her obsequies, O King, and all the " honours the queen had a right to claim, there is no " reason to blame the evil genius of the Persians; for " neither my mistress Statira, during her life, or your " royal mother, or children, missed any of the advan- " tages of their former fortune, except the beholding the " light of your countenance, which the great Oro-

* Longinus takes notice of this as an instance, that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common discourse, to let fall something great and sublime.

" masdes* will again cause to shine with as much lustre
" as before. So far from being deprived of any of the
" solemnities of a funeral, the queen was honoured with
" the tears of her very enemies: For Alexander is as
" mild in the use of his victories, as he is terrible in
" battle."

On hearing this, Darius was greatly moved, and strange suspicions took possession of his soul. He took the eunuch into the most private apartment of his pavilion, and said, " If thou dost not revolt to the Macedonians, as the for-
" tune of Persia has done, but still acknowledgest in me
" thy lord; tell me, as thou honourest the light of Mir-
" tha and the right hand of the king, is not the death of
" Statira the least of her misfortunes I have to lament?
" Did not she suffer more dreadful things while she lived?
" And amidst all our calamities, would not our disgrace
" have been less, had we met with a more rigorous and
" savage enemy? For what engagement in the compass
" of virtue could bring a young man to do such honour
" to the wife of his enemy?"

While the king was yet speaking, Tireus humbled his face to the earth, and intreated him not to make use of expressions so unworthy of himself, so injurious to Alexander, and so dishonourable to the memory of his deceased wife and sister; nor to deprive himself of the greatest of consolations in his misfortune, the reflecting that he was not defeated but by a person superior to human nature. He assured him Alexander was more to be admired for the decency of his behaviour to the Persian women, than for the valour he exerted against the men. At the same-time, he confirmed all he had said with the most awful oaths, and expatiated still more on the regularity of Alexander's conduct, and on his dignity of mind.

Then Darius returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, " Ye gods, who are the
" guardians of our birth, and the protectors of kingdoms,
" grant that I may re-establish the fortunes of Persia, and
" leave them in the glory I found them; that victory may
" put it in my power to return Alexander the favours

* *Oromasdes* was worshipped by the Persians, as the Author of all Good; and *Arimanius* deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles from which they were believed to spring, Light and Darkness. The Persian writers call them *Yerdan* and *Abriman*.

"which my dearest pledges experienced from him in my "fall! But if the time determined by fate and the divine "wrath, or brought about by the vicissitude of things, "is now come, and the glory of the Persians must fall, "may none but Alexander sit on the throne of Cyrus!" In this manner were things conducted, and such were the speeches uttered on this occasion, according to the tenor of history.

Alexander having subdued all on this side the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends mentioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the servants of the army had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief, one of which they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to skirmish with clods, and afterwards fought with their fists; and, at last, heated with a desire of victory, many of them came to stones and sticks, insomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the same for Darius. The whole army stood and looked on, considering the event of this combat as a presage of the issue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with the present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratosthenes tells the story.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at Arbela*, as most historians will have it; but at Gaugamela, which, in the Persian tongue, is said to signify *the house of the camel*†; so called, because one of the ancient kings having escaped his enemies by the swiftness of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of *September* there happened an eclipse of the moon‡, about the beginning of the festival of the

* But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela, a considerable town, stood near it, the Macedonians chose to distinguish the battle by the name of the latter.

† Darius, the son of Hystaspes, crossed the deserts of Scythia, upon that camel.

‡ Astronomers assure us, this eclipse of the moon happened the 20th of September, according to the Julian kalender; and therefore the battle of Arbela was fought the 1st of October.

great mysteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipse, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torch-light. Meantime Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer Aristander, performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered sacrifices to Fear*. The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordæan Mountains, all illumined with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noise from their camp, like the bellowings of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed among themselves how arduous an enterprise it would be to meet such a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore, when he had finished the sacrifice, and advised him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkness would hide what was most dreadful in the combat. Upon which he gave them that celebrated answer, *I will not steal a victory.*

It is true, this answer has been thought by some to savour of the vanity of a young man, who derided the most obvious danger: Yet others have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic enough in respect to the future; because, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no handle to proceed to another trial, under pretence that night and darkness had been his adversaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow passes, and the sea: For in such a vast empire, it could never be the want of arms or men that would bring Darius to give up the dispute; but the ruin of his hopes and spirits, in consequence of the loss of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers, and of day-light.

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to rest in his tent, and he is said to have slept that night much sounder than usual; insomuch, that when his officers came

* In the printed text it is Φοίβῳ, *to Apollo*, but Amiot tells us, he found in several MSS. Φόβῳ, *to Fear*. Fear was not without her altars; Theseus sacrificed to her, as we have seen in his life: And Plutarch tells us, in the Life of Agis and Cleomenes, that the Lacedæmonians built a temple to Fear, whom they honoured, not as a pernicious demon, but as the bond of all good government,

to attend him the next day, they could not but express their surprise at it, while they were obliged themselves to give out orders to the troops to take their morning refreshment*. After this, as the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and standing by the bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer asked him, "Why he slept like a man that "had already conquered, and not rather like one who had "the greatest battle the world ever heard of to fight?" Alexander smiled at the question, and said, "In what "light can you look upon us but as conquerors, when we "have not now to traverse desolate countries in pursuit of "Darius, and he no longer declines the combat?" It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander showed his intrepidity and excellent judgment: For the battle was sometime doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almost broken by the impetuosity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged; and Mazæus had, moreover, detached a party of horse, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly disturbed at these circumstances, sent messengers to acquaint Alexander, that his camp and baggage would be taken if he did not immediately dispatch a strong reinforcement from the front to the rear: The moment that account was brought him, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in person, the signal to charge. He stopped, however, to tell the messenger, "Parmenio must have lost his senses, and in his disorder "must have forgot, that the conquerors are always "masters of all that belonged to the enemy; and the con-"quered need not give themselves any concern about their "treasures or prisoners, nor have any thing to think of "but how to sell their lives dear, and die in the bed of "honour."

As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer, he put on his helmet; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a short coat, of the Sicilian fashion, girt close about him, and over that a breastplate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils, at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the workman-

* Ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

ship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so well polished, that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citieans, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt which he wore in all engagements was more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art in it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus, on account of his age, and rode another horse; but he constantly charged upon him; and he had no sooner mounted him than the signal was always given.

The speech he made to the Thessalians and the other Greeks was of some length on this occasion. When he found that they in their turn strove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them against the barbarias, he shifted his javelin to his left hand, and stretching his right hand towards heaven, according to Callisthenes, he entreated the gods "to defend and invigorate the Greeks, if he was really the son of Jupiter."

Aristandar the soothsayer, who rode by his side, in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his course against the enemy. The sight of this so animated the troops, that after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full speed, and the *phalanx* rushed on like a torrent*. Before the first ranks were well engaged,

* Plutarch, as a writer of lives, not of histories, does not pretend to give an exact description of battles: But as many of our readers, we believe, will be glad to see some of the more remarkable in detail, we shall give Arrian's account of this.

Alexander's right wing charged first upon the Scythian horse, who, as they were well armed, and very robust, behaved at the beginning very well, and made a vigorous resistance. That this might answer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left wing bore down at the same time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire destruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and stones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few reached the Macedonian line; which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged; and, before any

the barbarians gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midst of the host where Darius acted in person; for he beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron. Besides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was easily distinguished by his size and beauty. A numerous body of select cavalry stood in close order about the chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy; but Alexander's approach appeared so terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon those who still maintained their ground, that they were seized with consternation, and the greatest part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest of them, indeed, met their death before the king's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, strove to stop the pursuit; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horses legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the most dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him; the wheels of his chariot were, moreover, entangled among the dead

thing decisive happened there, the Persian foot, near their left wing, began to move, in hopes of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander perceiving this, sent Aratas with a corps to charge them, and prevent their intended manœuvre. In the mean time, prosecuting his first design, he broke their cavalry in the left wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Persian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble resistance. Darius perceiving this, gave up all for lost, and fled.

Vide *Arrian*, l. iii. c. 13. *et seq. ubi plura.*

Diodorus ascribes the success which for a time attended the Persian troops entirely to the conduct and valour of Darius. It unfortunately happened, that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which, though it missed him, struck the charioteer, who sat at his feet, dead; and as he fell forwards, some of the guards raised a loud cry, whence those behind them conjectured that the king was slain, and thereupon fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example, who, knowing the route he took could not be discovered on account of the dust and confusion, wheeled about, and got behind the Persian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander pursued right forwards. *Diod. Sic.* l. xvii.

Justin tells us, that when those about Darius advised him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus, to retard the enemy's pursuit, he answered, "I will never purchase safety to myself at the expence of so "many thousands of my subjects, as must by this means be lost."

Just. l. xi. c. 14.

bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it; and the horses plunging among heaps of the slain, bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity, he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But in all probability, he had not escaped so, if Parmenio had not again sent some horsemen to desire Alexander to come to his assistance, because great part of the enemy's forces still stood their ground, and kept a good countenance. Upon the whole, Parmenio is accused of want of spirit and activity in that battle; whether it was that age had damped his courage, or whether, as Callisthenes tells us, he looked upon Alexander's power, and the pompous behaviour he assumed, with an invidious eye, and considered it as an unsupportable burden*. Alexander, though vexed at being so stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message; but, under pretence of being weary of such a carnage, and of its growing dark, sounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of his army which had been represented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated, and put to flight.

The battle having such an issue, the Persian empire appeared to be entirely destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Asia. The first thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods, by magnificent sacrifices; and then to his friends, by rich gifts of houses, estates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himself to the Greeks, he signified by letter, that all tyrannies should be abolished, and that they should be governed by their own laws, under the auspices of freedom. To the Platæans in particular he wrote, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had made a present of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cause of liberty upon their own lands. He sent also a part of the spoils to the

* The truth seems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip of Macedon confessed Parmenio to be the only general he knew; and on this occasion he probably considered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of Persians would have been able to keep the field, and the fugitives rallying, and joining it, there would have been a respectable force, which might have regained the day.

Crotonians in Italy, in honour of the spirit and courage of their countryman Phaylus*, a champion of the wrestling-ring, who, in the war with the Medes, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy sent no assistance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ship at his own expence, and repaired to Salamis, to take a share in the common danger. Such a pleasure did Alexander take in every instance of virtue, and so faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions!

He traversed all the province of Babylon†, which immediately made its submission; and in the district of Ecbatana he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed continually, as from an inexhaustible source. He admired also a flood of *naptha*, not far from the gulf, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. The *naptha* in many repects resembles the *bitumen*, but it is much more inflammable‡. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to show the king its force and the subtility of its nature, scattered some drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings, and standing at one end, they applied their torches to some of the first drops; for it was night. The flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously all on fire.

There was one Athenophanes an Athenian, who, among others, waited on Alexander when he bathed, and anointed him with oil. This man had the greatest success in his attempts to divert him; and one day a boy named Stephen happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his person, but an excellent singer, Athenophanes said to the king, " Shall we make an experiment of the *naptha* upon " Stephen? If it takes fire upon him, and does not pre-

* In Herodotus, *Phoyllus*. See l. viii. 47.

† In the original it is, *As he traversed the territory of Babylon, he found in the district of Ecbatana*, &c. Every body knows that Ecbatana was in Media, not in the province of Babylon. The gulf here mentioned was near Arbela, in the district of *Artacene*. [See *Strab.* ed. Par. p. 737. D. *et seq.*] But Scaliger proposes that we should read *Arectane* (from *Arec.* mentioned *Gen.* x. 10.), both here, instead of Ecbatana, and in the passage of Strabo above cited.

‡ Sunt qui et napitham bituminis generi ascribunt. Verum ardens ejus vis ignium naturæ cognata procul omni ab usu est.

Plin. Hist. Nat.

" sently die out, we must allow its force to be extraordi-
" nary indeed." The boy readily consented to undergo the trial; but as soon as he was anointed with it*, his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at his danger. Nothing could have prevented his being entirely consumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with many vessels of water for the service of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguish the fire, and the poor boy felt the bad effects of it as long as he lived.

Those, therefore, who desire to reconcile the fable with truth, are not unsupported by probability, when they say, it was this drug with which Medea anointed the crown and veil so well known upon the stage†; for the flame did not come from the crown or veil, nor did they take fire of themselves; but upon the approach of fire they soon attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at some distance have no other effect upon most bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in those which are dry and porous, or saturated with oily particles, they collect themselves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter so well fitted to receive them. Still there remains a difficulty as to the generation of this *naptha;* whether it derives its inflammable quality from * * * * * * * * * ‡, or rather from the unctuous and sulphureous nature of the soil; for in the province of Babylon the ground is of so fiery a quality, that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulsation to the earth: And in the hot months the people are obliged to sleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks with Grecian trees and plants, and he succeeded in every thing except ivy. After all his attempts to propagate that plant it died; for it loves a cold soil, and therefore could not bear the temper of that mould. Such di-

* As no mention is made here of the application of fire, unless that be couched under the words *και θιγσιν*, we must suppose an electrical virtue in the *naptha*. But Plutarch seems to disclaim that afterwards, in the case of Creon's daughter.

† Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem
Serpente fugit alite. *Hor.*

‡ Something here is wanting in the original.

gressions as these the nicest readers may endure, provided they are not too long.

Alexander having made himself master of Susa, found in the king's palace forty thousand talents in coined money*, and the royal furniture and other riches were of inexpressible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione, worth five thousand talents†, which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its first freshness and beauty. The reason they assign for this is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil; and we are assured, that specimens of the same kind and age are still to be seen in all their pristine lustre. Dinon informs us, that the kings of Persia used to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and put among their treasures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and their being masters of the world.

The entrance into Persia was difficult, on account of the roughness of the country in that part, and because the passes were guarded by the bravest of the Persians; for Darius had taken refuge there. But a man who spoke both Greek and Persian, having a Lycian to his father, and a Persian woman to his mother, offered himself as a guide to Alexander, and showed him how he might enter, by taking a circuit. This was the person the priestess of Apollo had in view, when, upon Alexander's consulting her at a very early period of life, she foretold, "That a "Lycian would conduct him into Persia." Those that first fell into his hands there, were slaughtered in vast numbers. He tells us, he ordered that no quarter should be given, because he thought such an example would be of service to his affairs. It is said, he found as much gold and silver coin there as he did at Susa, and that there was such a quantity of other treasures and rich moveables, that it loaded ten thousand pair of mules and five thousand camels‡.

At Persepolis he cast his eyes upon a great statue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedestal by the

* Q. Curtius, who magnifies every thing, says fifty thousand.

† Or five thousand talents weight. Dacier calls it so many hundred weight; and the eastern talent was nearly that weight. Pliny tells us, that a pound of the double dipped Tyrian purple, in the time of Augustus, was sold for an hundred crowns.

‡ Diodorus says three thousand.

crowd that suddenly rushed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he stopped, and addressed it as if it had been alive—" Shall we leave you," said he, " in this " condition, on account of the war you made upon Greece, " or rear you again, for the sake of your magnanimity and " other virtues?" After he had stood a long time considering in silence which he should do, he passed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refresh themselves, he staid there four months, for it was winter.

The first time he sat down on the throne of the kings of Persia, under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the same friendship and affection for Alexander as he had entertained for his father Philip, is said to have wept like an old man, while he uttered this exclamation, " What a pleasure have those Greeks missed, who " died without seeing Alexander seated on the throne of " Darius!"

When he was upon the point of marching against Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had their share in it, for they came in masquerade to seek their lovers. The most celebrated among these women was Thais, a native of Attica, and mistress of Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When she had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, she addressed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the spirit of her country, but far above a person of her stamp: " I " have undergone great fatigues," said she, " in wan- " dering about Asia; but this day has brought me a " compensation, by putting it in my power to insult the " proud courts of the Persian kings. Ah! how much " greater pleasure would it be to finish the carousal with " burning the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in ashes, " and to set fire to it myself in the sight of Alexander*! " Then shall it be said in times to come, that the women

* These domes were not reared solely for regal magnificence and security, but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to secrete the royal pleasures from those that toiled to gratify them. Thus, as this noble structure was possibly raised not only for vanity but for riot; so, probably, by vanity inflamed by riot, it fell; a striking instance of the insignificancy of human labours, and the depravity of human nature.

" of his train, have more signally avenged the cause of " Greece upon the Persians, than all that the generals be- " fore him could do by sea or land."

This speech was received with the loudest plaudits and most tumultuary acclamations. All the company strove to persuade the king to comply with the proposal. At last, yielding to their instances, he leaped from his seat, and with his garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, led the way. The rest followed with shouts of joy, and, dancing as they went, spread themselves round the palace. The Macedonians who got intelligence of this frolic, ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleasure: For they concluded, from his destroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not design to fix his seat among the barbarians. Such is the account most writers give us of the motives of this transaction. There are not, however, wanting those who assert, that it was in consequence of cool reflection: But all agree that the king soon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguished.

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increased with his extraordinary acquisitions; and he had also a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irresistible charm. To give a few instances: Ariston, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy, and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and said, " Among us, Sir, such a present is re- " warded with a golden cup." The king answered, with a smile, " An empty one, I suppose; but I will give you " one full of good wine: and here, my boy, I drink to " you." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumstances was driving a mule, laden with the king's money, the mule tired; the man then took the burden upon his own shoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it, and was ready to give out. Alexander happening to see him, and being informed what it was, said, " Hold on, friend, " the rest of the way, and carry it to your own tent; for " it is yours." Indeed, he was generally more offended at those who refused his presents, than those who asked favours of him. Hence he wrote to Phocion, " That he " could no longer number him among his friends, if he " rejected the marks of his regard." He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him

at ball, because he asked nothing. One day, when they were at their diversion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which, Alexander said, "Why do not you give it me?" "Because you did "not ask for it," said the youth. The repartee pleased the king much; he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable presents. One Proteas, a man of humour, and a jester by profession, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he sued for pardon with tears; which at last the king granted. "If you do "really pardon me," resumed the wag, "I hope you will "give me at least some substantial proof of it." And he condescended to do it in a present of five talents.

With what a free hand he showered his gifts upon his friends, and those who attended on his person*, appears from one of the letters of Olympias. "You do well," said she, "in serving your friends, and it is right to act "nobly; but by making them all equal to kings, in pro-"portion as you put it in their power to make friends, "do deprive yourself of that privilege." Olympias often wrote to him in that manner; but he kept all her letters secret, except one, which Hephæstion happened to cast his eye upon, when he went, according to custom, to read over the king's shoulder; he did not hinder him from reading on; only, when he had done, he took his signet from his finger and put it to his mouth†.

The son of Mazæus, who was the principal favourite of Darius, was already governor of a province, and the conqueror added to it another government still more considerable. But the young man declined it in a handsome manner, and said, "Sir, we had but one Darius, and now "you make many Alexanders." He bestowed on Parmenio the house of Bagoas, in which were found such goods as were taken at Susa‡, to the value of a thousand

* He probably means in particular the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedonia. Their office was to wait on him at table, to attend with horses when he went to fight or to hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber door.

† To enjoin him silence.

‡ Των περι συσων—ιματισμων, *drapery goods.* This we take to mean such like purple as was taken at Susa, or perhaps that very purple. Dacier reads *Hephæstion,* instead of *Parmenio.*. The Vulcob. MS. has Συσα instead of Συσων, which is certainly better.

talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquainted him, that there was a design formed against his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. As for his mother, he made her many magnificent presents; but he would not suffer her busy genius to exert itself in state affairs, or in the least to controul the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardship, and he bore her ill-humour with great mildness. Antipater, once wrote him a long letter full of heavy complaints against her; and when he had read it, he said, " Antipater knows not that one tear " of a mother can blot out a thousand such complaints."

He found that his great officers set no bounds to their luxury, that they were most extravagantly delicate in their diet, and profuse in other respects; insomuch that Agnon of Teos wore silver nails in his shoes; Leonatus had many camel-loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himself with when he went to the wrestling-ring; Philotas had hunting-nets that would inclose the space of a hundred furlongs; more made use of rich essences than oil after bathing, and had their grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved with all the temper of a philosopher. He told them, " It was very strange to him, that, after " having undergone so many glorious conflicts, they did " not remember that those who come from labour and ex- " ercise always sleep more sweetly than the inactive and " effeminate; and that in comparing the Persian manners " with the Macedonian, they did not perceive that no- " thing was more servile than the love of pleasure, or " more princely than a life of toil. How will that man," continued he, " take care of his own horse, or furbish his " lance and helmet, whose hands are too delicate to wait " on his own dear person? Know you not that the end of " conquest is, not to do what the conquered have done, " but something greatly superior?" After this, he constantly took the exercise of war or hunting, and exposed himself to danger and fatigue with less precaution than ever; so that a Lacedæmonian ambassador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, said, " Alex- " ander, you have disputed the prize of royalty gloriously " with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece represented in bronze, and consecrated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting

with the lion, and Craterus making up to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares.

Thus Alexander hazarded his person, by way of exercise for himself and example to others: But his friends, in the pride of wealth, were so devoted to luxury and ease, that they considered long marches and campaigns as a burden, and by degrees came to murmur and speak ill of the king. At first he bore their censures with great moderation, and used to say, "There was something noble "in hearing himself ill spoken of while he was doing "well*." Indeed, in the least of the good offices he did his friends, there were great marks of affection and respect. We will give an instance or two of it. He wrote to Peucestas, who had been bit by a bear in hunting, to complain, that he had given an account of the accident, by letters, to others of his friends, and not to him: "But "now," says he, "let me know, however, how you do, "and whether any of your company deserted you, that I "may punish them, if such there were." When Hephæstion happened to be absent upon business, he acquainted him in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themselves with hunting the ichneumon†, Craterus had the misfortune to be run through the thighs with Perdiccas's lance. When Peucestas recovered of a dangerous illness, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus the physician, to thank him for his care. During the sickness of Craterus, the king had a dream, in consequence of which he offered sacrifices for his recovery,

* Voltaire says somewhere, that it is a noble thing to make ingrates. He seems to be indebted for the sentiment to Alexander.

† The Egyptian rat, called *ichneumon*, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash colour; its nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has short black legs, and a tail like a fox It lives on lizards, serpents, snails, chameleons, &c. and is of great service in Egypt, by its natural instinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. The naturalists also say, that it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itself up in mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again.

Diod. Sic. p. 32, 78. *Plin.* l. viii. c. 24, 25.

The Egyptians worshipped the ichneumon for destroying the crocodiles. They worshipped the crocodile, too, probably as the Indians do the devil, that it might do them no hurt.

and ordered him to do the same. Upon Pausanias the physician's design to give Craterus a dose of hellebore, he wrote to him, expressing his great anxiety about it, and desiring him to be particularly cautious in the use of that medicine. He imprisoned Ephialtes and Cissus, who brought him the first news of the flight and treasonable practices of Harpalus, supposing their information false. Upon his sending home the invalids and the superannuated, Eurylochus, the Ægæan, got himself inrolled among the former. Soon after it was discovered that he had no infirmity of body; and he confessed it was the love of Telesippa, who was going to return home, that put him upon that expedient to follow her. Alexander inquired who the woman was, and being informed that though a courtesan, she was not a slave, he said, "Eurylochus, I "am willing to assist you in this affair; but as the wo-"man is free-born, you must see if we can prevail upon "her by presents and courtship."

It is surprising that he had time or inclination to write letters about such unimportant affairs of his friends, as to give orders for diligent search to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus's run-away slave: to commend Peucestas for having seized Nicon, a slave that belonged to Craterus; and to direct Megabyzus, if possible, to draw another slave from his asylum, and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple.

It is said, that in the first years of his reign, when capital causes were brought before him, he used to stop one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might reserve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many false informations which were afterwards lodged, and which, by means of some true circumstances, were so represented as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper. Particularly in case of aspersions upon his own character, his reason forsook him, and he became extremely and inflexibly severe; as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he marched against Darius again, he expected another battle. But upon intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he dismissed the Thessalians, and sent them home, after he had given them a gratuity of two thousand talents, over and above their pay,

The pursuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thousand three hundred furlongs in eleven days*. As they often suffered more for want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, some Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. These people seeing Alexander greatly distressed with thirst (for it was in the heat of the day), immediately filled a helmet with water, and presented it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying it? and they said, "Their sons; but if our prince does but live, we "shall get other children, if we lose them." Upon this he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and seeing all the horsemen bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praised the people that offered it, and said, "If I alone drink, these good men will be dispi-"rited†." The cavalry, who were witnesses to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let us "march! We are neither weary nor thirsty, nor shall we "even think ourselves mortal, while under the conduct "of such a king." At the same time they put spurs to their horses.

They had all the same affection to the cause, but only sixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion, but without charioteers, they hastened to the leading squadrons, not doubting that they should find Darius among them. At last, after much search, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his last moments, he had strength to ask for something to quench his thirst. A Macedonian, named Polystratus, brought him some cold water, and when he had drank, he said, "Friend, this fills up the "measure of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to

* As this was no more than forty miles a-day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing when compared to Charles the Twelfth's march from Bender through Germany, nothing to the expedition of Hannibal along the African coast.

† Lucan has embellished this story for Cato, and has possibly introduced it merely upon imitation.

" reward thee for this act of kindness. But Alexander " will not let thee go without a recompense; and the " gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to my " mother, to my wife, and children. Tell him I gave " him my hand, for I give it thee in his stead." So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up, he showed his concern for that event by the strongest expressions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Bessus afterwards fell into his hands, and he punished his parricide in this manner: He caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder by the violence of the recoil*.

As for the body of Darius, he ordered it should have all the honours of a royal funeral, and sent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. There he took a view of the Caspian Sea, which appeared to him not less than the Euxine, but its water was of a sweeter taste. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it came from an outlet of the Palus Mæotis. Yet the ancient naturalists were not ignorant of its origin; for, many years before Alexander's expedition, they wrote, that there are four seas which stretch from the main ocean into the continent, the farthest north of which is the Hyrcanian or the Caspian†. The barbarians here fell suddenly upon a party who were leading his horse Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked him so much, that he sent a herald to threaten them, their wives, and children, with utter extermination, if they did not restore him the horse: But, upon their bringing him back, and surrendering to him their cities, he treated them with great clemency, and paid a considerable sum, by way of ransom, to those that took the horse.

* Q. Curtius tells us, Alexander delivered up the assassin to Oxathres, the brother to Darius; in consequence of which he had his nose and ears cut off, and was fastened to a cross, where he was dispatched with darts and arrows.

† This is an error which Pliny too has followed. The Caspian Sea has no communication with the Ocean.

From thence he marched into Parthia; where, finding no employment for his arms, he first put on the robe of the barbarian kings; whether it was that he conformed a little to their customs, because he knew how much a similarity of manners tends to reconcile and gain men's hearts; or whether it was by way of experiment, to see if the Macedonians might be brought to pay him the greater deference, by accustoming them insensibly to the new barbaric attire and port which he assumed. However, he thought the Median habit made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore took not the long breeches, or the sweeping train, or the *tiara;* but adopting something between the Median and Persian mode, contrived vestments less pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors; but in time he came to wear it when he appeared in public, and sat for the dispatch of business. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedonians; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to please himself a little, and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence seemed due to a prince, who, beside his other hardships, had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which shattered the bone in such a manner, that splinters were taken out: who, another time, had such a violent blow from a stone upon the nape of his neck, that an alarming darkness covered his eyes, and continued for some time; and yet continued to expose his person without the least precaution. On the contrary, when he had passed the Orexartes, which he supposed to be the Tanais, he not only attacked the Scythians, and routed them, but pursued them a hundred furlongs, in spite of what he suffered at that time from a flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to visit him, as Clitarchus, Policritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, Ister, and many other historians, report: But Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela*, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip, who was also of Theangela, as well as Hecatæus

* In the Greek text it is εισαγγελευς, both here and just after, Εσαγγελευς signifies a gentleman usher; but it does not appear that either Chares or Philip ever held such an office. It is certain, Θεαγγελευς is the right reading, from *Athenæus*, Book vi. p. 271. where he mentions Philip as belonging to Theangela in Caria.

of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, treat the story as a fiction. And indeed Alexander himself seems to support their opinion: For in one of his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that passed, he says, the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes not the least mention of the Amazons: Nay, when Onesicritus many years after, read to Lysimachus, then king, the fourth book of his history, in which this story was introduced, he smiled, and said, "Where was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular, or not, is a matter that will neither add to nor lessen our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might dislike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greatest part of the army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a select body of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The purport of his speech upon the occasion was this: "Hitherto the barbarians have "seen us only as in a dream. If you should think of re-"turning, after having given Asia the alarm only, they "will fall upon you with contempt, as unenterprising and "effeminate. Nevertheless, such as desire to depart have "my consent for it: But, at the same time, I call the "gods to witness, that they desert their king when he is "conquering the world for the Macedonians, and leave "him to the kinder and more faithful attachment of those "few friends that will follow his fortune." This is almost word for word the same with what he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, "That he had no sooner done speaking, "than they cried, he might lead them to what part of "the world he pleased." Thus he tried the disposition of these brave men; and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body into their sentiments; they followed of course.

After this, he accommodated himself more than ever to the manners of the Asiatics, and at the same time persuaded them to adopt some of the Macedonian fashions; for by a mixture of both, he thought an union might be promoted, much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a distance. For the same reason, he selected thirty thousand boys, and gave them mas-

ters to instruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible. Nor was the match unsuitable to the situation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chastity gained their affection; it delighted them to think he would not approach the only woman he ever passionately loved, without the sanction of marriage.

Hephæstion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praised the Persian fashions, and dressed as he did; the latter adhered to the customs of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæstion in his transactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to signify his pleasure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, and the other more of his esteem. He was persuaded, indeed, and he often said, "Hephæstion loved Alexander, "and Craterus the king." Hence arose private animosities, which did not fail to break out upon occasion. One day, in India, they drew their swords, and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interposed. He told Hephæstion publicly, "He was a fool and a madman, not to be sensible that "without his master's favour he would be nothing." He gave Craterus also a severe reprimand in private; and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he swore by Jupiter Ammon, and all the other gods, "That he loved them more than all the men in the world; "but, if he perceived them at variance again, he would "put them both to death, or him at least who began "the quarrel." This is said to have had such an effect upon them, that they never expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest, afterwards.

Among the Macedonians, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had great authority: For he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but, after Alexander, no man loved his friend more, or had a greater spirit of generosity. We are told, that a friend of his one day requested a sum of money, and he ordered it to be given him. The steward said he had it not to give. "What," says Philotas, "hast thou not plate, or some other move-"able?" However, he affected an ostentation of wealth,

and a magnificence in his dress and table, that was above the condition of a subject. Besides, the loftiness of his port was altogether extravagant: Not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it exposed him both to hatred and suspicion; insomuch, that Parmenio one day said to him, "My son, be less." He had long been represented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damascus, with all its riches, was taken, upon the defeat of Darius in Cilicia, among the number of captives that were brought to the camp, there was a beautiful young woman, called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to the share of Philotas. Like a young soldier with a favourite mistress, in his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indiscreet things escape him; attributing all the great actions of the war to himself and to his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their means enjoyed the title of a conqueror. The woman told these things in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is common) mentioned them to another. At last they came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as usual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he said. Philotas, ignorant of the snares that were laid for him, conversed with the woman without the least reserve, and either in his resentment or pride uttered many unbecoming things against Alexander. That prince, though he had sufficient proof against Philotas, kept the matter private, and discovered no tokens of aversion; whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or whether he was afraid of the power and interest of the family.

About this time, a Macedonian, named Limnus*, a native of Chalæstra, conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his design to one Nicomachus, a youth that he was fond of, desiring him to take a part in the enterprise. Nicomachus, instead of embracing the proposal, informed his brother Balinus† of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and desired him to intro-

* It should undoubtedly be read *Dymnus*, as Q. Curtius and Diodorus have it. Nothing is easier than for a transcriber to change the Λ into a Δ.

† Q. Curtius calls him *Cebalinus*.

duce them to Alexander; assuring him it was upon business of great importance. Whatever might be his reason (for it is not known) Philotas refused them admittance, on pretence that Alexander had other great engagements then upon his hands. They applied again, and met with a denial. By this time they entertained some suspicions of Philotas, and addressed themselves to Metron*, who introduced them to the king immediately. They informed him first of the conspiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their suspicions of Philotas, on account of his rejecting two several applications.

Alexander was incensed at this negligence; and when he found that the person who was sent to arrest Limnus, had killed him† because he stood upon his defence and refused to be taken, it disturbed him still more to think he had lost the means of discovering his accomplices. His resentment against Philotas gave opportunity to those who had long hated that officer, to avow their dislike, and to declare how much the king was to blame in suffering himself to be so easily imposed upon, as to think that Limnus, an insignificant Chalæstrean, durst engage, of his own accord, in such a bold design: "No doubt," said they, "he was the agent, or rather the instrument, of "some superior hand; and the king should trace out the "source of the conspiracy among those who have the "most interest in having it concealed."

As he began to listen to these discourses, and to give way to his suspicions, it brought innumerable accusations against Philotas, some of them very groundless. He was apprehended and put to the torture, in presence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himself behind the tapestry to hear the examination; and when he found that Philotas bemoaned himself in such a lamentable manner, and had recourse to such mean supplications to Hephæstion, he is reported to have said, "O Philotas, "durst thou, with all this unmanly weakness, embark in "so great and hazardous an enterprise?"

* In the printed text it is Ἕτερον; but one of the manuscripts give us Μετρῶνα, which agrees with Curtius. Some name seems to be wanting, and Metron was a considerable officer of the king's household, master of the wardrobe.

† Other authors say he killed himself.

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately sent orders into Media that Parmenio should be put to death; a man who had a share in most of Philip's conquests, and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the old counsellors, who put Alexander upon his expedition into Asia. Of three sons whom he took over with him, he had seen two slain in battle, and with the third he fell a sacrifice himself. These proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, sent privately to the Ætolians, and entered into league with them. They had something to fear from Alexander, as well as he, for they had sacked the city of the Œniades; and when the king was informed of it, he said, "The children of the Œniades need not revenge "their cause; I will punish the Ætolians myself."

Soon after this happened the affair of Clitus; which however simply related, is much more shocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet if we reflect on the occasion and circumstances of the thing, we shall conclude it was a misfortune, rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy passion and intoxication, only furnished the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accomplishing his destruction. It happened in the following manner: The king had some Grecian fruit brought him from on board a vessel, as he greatly admired its freshness and beauty, he desired Clitus to see it, and partake of it. It happened that Clitus was offering sacrifice that day; but he left it to wait upon the king. Three of the sheep on which the libation was already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, consulted the soothsayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it; and they assured him it was a very bad omen. He, therefore, ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus; the rather, because three days before he had a strange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, sitting by the dead sons of Parmenio. However, before the sacrifice was finished, Clitus went to sup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Castor and Pollux.

After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it, of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The older

part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer; but Alexander, and those about him, listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and forward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was not well done, to make a "jest, and that among barbarians and enemies, of Mace-"donians that were much better men than the laughers, "though they had met with a misfortune." Alexander made answer, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, "when he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune." Then Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it was this cow-"ardice that saved you, son of Jupiter as you are, when "you were turning your back to the sword of Spithri-"dates. It is by the blood of the Macedonians and these "wounds that you are grown so great, that you disdain "to acknowledge Philip for your father, and will needs "pass yourself for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is in "this villanous manner thou talkest of me in all com-"panies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to mutiny; "but dost thou think to enjoy it long?" "And what "do we enjoy now?" said Clitus; "what reward have "we for all our toils? Do we not envy those who did "not live to see Macedonians bleed under Median rods, "or sue to Persians for access to their king?" While Clitus went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Meantime Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and said, "Do not the Greeks appear to you "among the Macedonians like demigods among so many "wild beasts?" Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander "To speak out what he had to "say, or not to invite freemen to his table, who would "declare their sentiments without reserve. But perhaps," continued he, "it were better to pass your life with bar-"barians and slaves, who will worship your Persian gir-"dle and white robe without scruple."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes*, one of his guards, had taken it away

* Q. Curtius and Arrian call him Aristonus.

in time, and the company gathered about him, and entreated him to be quiet. Their remonstrances, however, were vain. He broke from them, and called out, in the Macedonian language, for his guards, which was the signal of a great tumult. At the same time he ordered the trumpeter to sound, and struck him with his fist, upon his discovering an unwillingness to obey. The man was afterwards held in great esteem, because he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the least submission, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room: But he soon returned by another door, repeating in a bold and disrespectful tone those verses from the Andromache of Euripides;

> Are these your customs? Is it thus that Greece
> Rewards her combatants? * Shall one man claim
> The trophies won by thousands?

Then Alexander snatched a spear from one of his guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through the body: He fell immediately to the ground, and with a dismal groan expired.

Alexander's rage subsided in a moment; he came to himself; and seeing his friends standing in silent astonishment by him, he hastily drew the spear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards seized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He passed that night and the next day in anguish inexpressible; and when he had wasted himself with tears and lamentations, he lay in speechless grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy silence, forced themselves into the room, and attempted to console him: But he would listen to none of them, except Aristander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the sheep, and assured him that the whole was by the decree of fate. As he seemed a little comforted, Callisthenes the philosopher, Aristotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in †. Callisthenes began in a soft and tender manner, en-

* This is the speech of Peleus to Menelaus.

† Callisthenes was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended to Alexander by Aristotle, whose relation he was. He had

deavouring to relieve him without searching the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philosophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in sience with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, " Is this Alex-
" ander, upon whom the whole world have their eyes?
" Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying
" like a slave, in fear of the law and the tongues of men,
" to whom he should himself be a law and the measure
" of right and wrong? What did he conquer for but to
" rule and to command, not servilely to submit to the
" vain opinions of men? Know you not," continued he,
" that Jupiter is represented with Themis and Justice by
" his side, to show, that whatever is done by supreme
" power is right?" By this, and other discourses of the same kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him, withal, more haughty and unjust. At the same time, he insinuated himself into his favour in so extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was not very agreeable on account of his austerity.

One day, a dispute had arisen at table about the seasons and the temperature of the climate. Callisthenes held with those who asserted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and the winters more severe, than in Greece. Anaxarchus maintained the contrary with great obstinacy: Upon which Callisthenes said, " You must
" needs acknowledge, my friend, that this is much the
" colder; for there you went in winter in one cloak, and
" here you cannot sit at table without three housing cover-
" lets one over another." This stroke went to the heart of Anaxarchus.

Callisthenes was disagreeable to all the other sophists and flatterers at court; the more so, because he was followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, self-satisfied course of life. All which confirms what was said to be the cause of his going to Alexander, namely, an

too much of the spirit of liberty, to be fit for a court. He did not show it, however, in this instance. Aristotle forewarned him, that if he went on to treat the king with the freedom which his spirit prompted, it would one day be fatal to him.

Ωκυμορος δη μοι, τεκος, εσσεαι ει αγαρευεις,
" Short date of life, my son, these words forebode."

ambition to bring his fellow-citizens back, and to re-peopled the place of his nativity*. His great reputation naturally exposed him to envy; and he gave some room for calumny himself, by often refusing the king's invitations, and when he did go to his entertainments, by sitting solemn and silent; which showed that he could neither commend, nor was satisfied with what passed: Insomuch that Alexander said to him one day,

——————— I hate the sage
Who reaps no fruits of wisdom to himself.

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came to him, he was desired to pronounce an eulogium upon the Macedonians extempore, which he did with so much eloquence, that the guests, beside their plaudits, rose up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this, Alexander said, in the words of Euripides,

When great the theme, 'tis easy to excel.

"But show us now," continued he, "the power of your "rhetoric, in speaking against the Macedonians, that "they may see their faults, and amend."

Then the orator took the other side, and spoke with equal fluency against the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as against the divisions among the Greeks, which he showed to be the only cause of the great increase of Philip's power; concluding with these words,

———————Amidst sedition's waves
The worst of mortals may emerge to honour.

By this he drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the Macedonians; and Alexander said, "He gave not in this "case a specimen of his eloquence, but of his malevo-"lence."

Hermippus assures us, that Stroibus, a person employed by Callisthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Aristotle. He adds, that Callisthenes per-

* Olynthus was one of the cities destroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philosopher to re-establish it is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that, in his time, it was a flourishing place. Vide *Or.* iii. *in Verrem.*

ceiving the king's aversion to him, repeated this verse two or three times at parting:

Patroclus, thy superior is no more.

It was not, therefore, without reason, that Aristotle said of Callisthenes, "His eloquence, indeed, is great, but "he wants common sense." He not only refused, with all the firmness of a philosopher, to pay his respects to Alexander by prostration, but stood forth singly and uttered in public many grievances which the best and oldest of the Macedonians durst not reflect upon but in secret, though they were as much displeased at them as he. By preventing the prostration, he saved the Greeks, indeed, from a great dishonour, and Alexander from a greater; but he ruined himself, because his manner was such, that he seemed rather desirous to compel than to persuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander, at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends. That friend had no sooner received it than he rose up, and turning towards the hearth*, where stood the domestic gods, to drink, he worshipped, and then kissed Alexander. This done, he took his place again at the table. All the guests did the same in their order, except Callisthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiss, who being engaged in some discourse with Hephæstion, happened not to mind him: But Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, cried out, "Receive not his kiss; for he alone has not "adored you." Upon which Alexander refused it, and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I return one kiss the "poorer."

A coldness, of course, ensued; but many other things contributed to his fall. In the first place, Hephæstion's report was believed, that Callisthenes had promised him to adore the king, and broke his word. In the next place, Lysimachus and Agnon attacked him, and said, "The sophist went about with as much pride as if he

* Dacier is of opinion, that, by this action, the flatterer wanted to insinuate, that Alexander ought to be reckoned among the domestic gods. But, as the king sat in that part of the room where the *Penates* were, we rather think it was a vile excuse to the man's own conscience for this act of religious worship, because their position made it dubious, whether it was intended for Alexander or for them.

" had demolished a tyranny, and the young men followed " him, as the only freeman among so many thousands." These things, upon the discovery of Hermolaus's plot against Alexander, gave an air of probability to what was alleged against Callisthenes. His enemies said, Hermolaus inquired of him, " By what means he might become " the most famous man in the world?" and that he answered, " By killing the most famous." They farther asserted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him, " not be afraid of the golden bed, but re- " member he had to do with a man who had suffered " both by sickness and by wounds."

Neither Hermolaus, however, nor any of his accomplices, made any mention of Callisthenes amidst the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himself, in the account he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus, and Alectas, writes, " That the young men, when " put to the torture, declared it was entirely their own " enterprise, and that no man besides was privy to it." Yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he affirms, that Callisthenes was as guilty as the rest: " The Macedoni- " ans," says he, " have stoned the young men to death. " As for the sophist, I will punish him myself, and those " that sent him too: Nor shall the towns that harboured " the conspirators escape." In which he plainly discovers his aversion to Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes was brought up, as a relation; for he was the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. His death is variously related. Some say Alexander ordered him to be hanged; others, that he fell sick and died in chains; and Chares writes, that he was kept seven months in prison, in order to be tried in full council in the presence of Aristotle; but that he died of excessive corpulency and the lousy disease, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India. This happened, however at a later period than that we are upon.

In the mean time, Demaratus the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of going to see Alexander. Accordingly he took the voyage, and when he beheld him, he said, " The Greeks fell short of a great " pleasure, who did not live to see Alexander upon the " throne of Darius." But he did not live to enjoy the king's friendship. He sickened and died soon after. The

king, however, performed his obsequies in the most magnificent manner; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth, of great extent, and fourscore cubits high. His ashes were carried to the sea-shore in a chariot and four, with the richest ornaments.

When Alexander was upon the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils that they were unfit to march. Therefore, early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages were assembled, he first set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends; and then gave orders that the rest should be served in the same manner. The resolution appeared more difficult to take, than it was to execute. Few were displeased at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to such as were in need, and burnt and destroyed whatever was superfluous. This greatly encouraged and fortified Alexander in his design. Besides, by this time he was become inflexibly severe in punishing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death for refusing to stay in a fortress he had given him the charge of; and one of the barbarians, named Osodates, he shot dead with an arrow, for the crime of rebellion.

About this time a sheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a *tiara* upon its head, on each side of which were testicles. Looking upon the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chaldæans, who attended him for such purposes, to purify him by their expiations. He told his friends, on this occasion, "That he was more "troubled on their account than his own; for he was "afraid that after his death fortune would throw the em-"pire into the hands of some obscure and weak man." A better omen, however, soon dissipated his fears. A Macedonian, named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening* the ground by the river Oxus, in order to pitch his master's tent, discovered a spring of a gross oily liquor: which after the surface was taken off, came perfectly clear, and neither in taste nor smell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in smoothness and

* Strabo (lib. ii.) ascribes the same properties to the ground near the river Ochus. Indeed, the Ochus and the Oxus unite their streams, and flow together into the Caspian Sea.

brightness, though there were no olives in that country. It is said, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of so unctuous a quality, that it makes the skins of those who bathe in it smooth and shining*.

It appears, from a letter of Alexander's to Antipater, that he was greatly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it one of the happiest presages the gods had afforded him. The soothsayers said it betokened that the expedition would prove a glorious one, but at the same time laborious and difficult, because heaven has given men oil to refresh them after their labours. Accordingly he met with great dangers in the battles that he fought, and received very considerable wounds. But his army suffered most by want of necessities and by the climate. For his part, he was ambitious to show that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: He thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the bold†. Pursuant to this opinion, when he besieged Sisimethres‡ upon a rock extremely steep and apparently inaccessible, and saw his men greatly discouraged at the enterprise, he asked Oxyartes, "Whether Sisimethres were "a man of spirit?" And being answered, "That he was "timorous and dastardly," he said, "You inform me the "rock may be taken, since there is no strength in its de-"fender." In fact, he found means to intimidate Sisimethres, and made himself master of the fort.

In the siege of another fort, situated in a place equally steep, among the young Macedonians that were to give the assault there was one called Alexander; and the king took occasion to say to him, "You must behave gallant-"ly, my friend, to do justice to your name." He was in-

* Pliny tells us, that the surface of these rivers was a consistence of salt, and that the waters flowed under it as under a crust of ice. The salt consistence he imputes to the defluxions from the neighbouring mountains, but he says nothing of the unctuous quality of these waters mentioned by Plutarch. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxi.

† One of the manuscripts, instead of ευτολμοις, has ατολμοις. Then the latter member of the sentence would be, *nor secure to the timorous.*

‡ This strong-hold was situated in Bactriana. Strabo says it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining five hundred. It was in Bactriana that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.

formed afterwards that the young man fell as he was distinguishing himself in a glorious manner, and he laid it much to heart.

When he sat down before Nysa*, the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that washed its walls, till Alexander said, "What a wretch am I, that I did not "learn to swim," and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. After the first assault, while the troops were refreshing themselves, ambassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and along with them were deputies from some other places. They were surprised to see him in armour, without any pomp or ceremony; and their astonishment increased, when he bade the oldest of the ambassadors, named Acuphis, take the sofa that was brought for himself. Acuphis, struck with a benignity of reception so far beyond his hopes, asked what they must do to be admitted into his friendship? Alexander answered, "It must be on "condition that they appoint you their governor, and "send me a hundred of their best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this, and said, "I should govern better "if you would take the worst, instead of the best."

It is said, the dominions of Taxiles, in India†, were as large as Egypt: They afforded excellent pasturage too, and were the most fertile in all respects. As he was a man of great prudence, he waited on Alexander, and after the first compliments, thus addressed him: "What occasion "is there for wars between you and me, if you are not "come to take from us our water and other necessities "of life; the only things that reasonable men will take "up arms for? As to gold and silver, and other posses-"sions, if I am richer than you, I am willing to oblige "you with part; if I am poorer, I have no objection to "sharing in your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, "then, with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? "You are much deceived, if you do: I will dispute it "with you to the last; but it shall be in favours and be-

* Arrian calls it Nyssa; so indeed does the Vulcob. MS. That historian places it near Mount Meris, and adds, that it was built by Dionysius or Bacchus. Hence it had the name of Dionysiopolis. It is now called Nerg.

† Between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

" nefits; for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, " I drink " to you, Taxiles, and as sure as you pledge me, you shall " have a thousand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away such immense sums, but it made many of the barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

The most warlike of the Indians used to fight for pay. Upon this invasion they defended the cities that hired them, with great vigour, and Alexander suffered by them not a little. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation, and yet seized the mercenaries, as they were upon their march homewards, and put them all to the sword. This is the only blot in his military conduct; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king*.

The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for which reason he hanged many of them.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own letters. According to them, the river Hydaspes was between the two armies, and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks opposite the enemy, with their heads towards the stream, to guard it. Alexander caused a great noise and bustle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians being accustomed to it, might not be so ready to take the alarm†. This done, he took the advantage of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry, and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river, at some distance from the Indians. When he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a most

* It was just and lawful, it seems, to go about harassing and destroying those nations that had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern babarians, when they entered Italy, namely, that the weak must submit to the strong! Indeed, those barbarians were much honester men, for they had another, and a better plea; they went to seek bread.

† The Latin and French translators have both mistaken the sense of this passage.—Ἐθίζοντα τοὺς Βαρβάρους μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, is certainly capable of the sense we have given it, and the context requires it should be so understood. See *Arrian* (l. v. Ed. St. p. 108 A. and B), in support of that construction. See also *Q. Curtius*, l. viii. p. 263. Ed. Am.

violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning: But notwithstanding this hurricane, in which he saw several of his men perish by the lightning, he advanced from the island to the opposite bank. The Hydaspes, swelled with the rain, by its violence and rapidity made a breach on that side, which received water enough to form a bay, so that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely slippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occasion he is said to have uttered that celebrated saying, "Will you "believe, my Athenian friends, what dangers I undergo, "to have you the heralds of my fame?" The last particular we have from Onesicritus: But Alexander himself only says, they quitted their boats, and, armed as they were, waded up the breach breast high; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horse twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he should be greatly their superior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiss. The enemy detached against him a thousand horse and sixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with ease. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the spot. By this Porus understood that Alexander himself had passed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared necessary to keep the rest of the Macedonians from making good their passage. Alexander considering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's superior numbers, did not choose to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himself, while Cœnus, according to his orders, fell upon the right. Both wings being broken, retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then was of a more mixed kind; but maintained with such obstinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day. This description of the battle we have from the conqueror himself in one his epistles.

Most historians agree, that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant he rode was one of the largest, his stature and bulk were such, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and care of the king's person. As long as that

prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he desired to be treated?" He answered, "Like "a king." "And have you nothing else to request?" replied Alexander. "No," said he; "every thing is "comprehended in the word king." Alexander not only restored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but added very extensive territories to them; for having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thousand considerable cities, and villages in proportion, he bestowed it on Porus*. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant.

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds, of which he died some time after. This is the account most writers give us: But Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander shewed as much regret as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion: He esteemed him, indeed, as such; and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place where he was buried, which he called, after him, Bucephalia. He is also reported to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up and was very fond of. This particular Sotio says he had from Potamo of Lesbos.

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field; and therefore they opposed Alexander with great firmness, when he insisted that they should pass

* Some transcriber seems to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities. Arrian's account of this: "He took thirty-seven cities, the least of which contained five "thousand inhabitants, and several of them above ten thousand. "He took also a great number of villages not less populous than "the cities, and gave the government of the country to Porus."

the Ganges*, which, they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathom. The opposite shore too was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions and elephants: For the kings of the Gandarites and Præsians were said to be waiting for them there, with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand elephants trained to war. Nor is this number at all magnified: for Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a present of five hundred elephants at one time†, and with an army of six hundred thousand men traversed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring "He did not thank "the Macedonians in the least for what they had done, "if they would not pass the Ganges; for he considered "a retreat as no other than an acknowledgment that he "was overcome." His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him; and at last their remonstrances, together with the cries and tears of the soldiers, who were suppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he first contrived many vain and sophistical things to serve the purposes of fame; among which were arms much bigger than his men could use, and higher mangers, and heavier bits than his horses required, left scattered up and down. He built also great altars, for which the Præsians still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them. Androcottus, who was then very young, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have often said afterwards, "That Alexander was within a little of making "himself master of all the country; with such hatred "and contempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on "account of his profligacy of manners, and meanness of "birth."

Alexander, in his march from thence, formed a design to see the Ocean; for which purpose he caused a number

* The Ganges is the largest of all the rivers in the three continents, the Indus the second, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth.

† Dacier says *five thousand*, but does not mention his authority. Perhaps it was only a slip in the writing, or in the printing.

of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and, upon them, fell down the rivers at his leisure. Nor was this navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to submit to his victorious arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missive weapons, and was the first man that ascended it. But presently after he was up, the scaling ladder broke. Finding himself and his small company* much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he poised himself and leaped down into the midst of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet; and the barbarians were so astonished at the flashing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning, or some supernatural splendour issuing from his body. At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed: But when they had recollected themselves, and saw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, notwithstanding the volour with which he fought. One of them standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made its way through his cuirass, and entered the ribs under the breast. Its force was so great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn simitar to dispatch him. Peucestas and Limnæus† placed themselves before him, but the one was wounded and the other killed. Peucestas, who survived, was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself and laid the barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at last had such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself by the wall, and there stood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His senses were gone, and it was the current report in the army that he was dead. When they had, with great difficulty, sawed off the shaft, which was of wood, and with

* The word ὀλιγιςος implies, that he was not quite alone; and it appears immediately after that he was not.

† Q. Curtius calls him *Timæus*.

equal trouble had taken off the cuirass, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad, and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. He fainted under the operation and was very near expiring; but when the head was got out, he came to himself. Yet, after the danger was over, he continued weak, and a long time confined himself to a regular diet, attending solely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be so long deprived of the sight of their king; they assembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but as soon as he had sacrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way to the place of his destination *, though carried in a litter by the water side, he subdued a large track of land, and many respectable cities.

In the course of this expedition, he took ten of the *Gymnosophists* †, who had been principally concerned in instigating Sabbas to revolt, and had brought numberless other troubles upon the Macedonians. As these ten were reckoned the most acute and concise in their answers, he put the most difficult questions to them that could be thought of, and at the same time declared, he would put the first person that answered wrong to death, and after him all the rest. The oldest man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the first, "Which were most numerous, "the living or the dead?" He answered, "The living; "for the dead no longer exist‡."

The second was asked, "Whether the earth or the sea "produced the largest animals? He answered, "The "earth; for the sea is part of it."

The third, "Which was the craftiest of all animals?" "That," said he, "with which man is not yet acquainted‖."

* παρεκομιζητο.

† These philosophers, so called from their going naked, were divided into two sects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were most esteemed, because there was a consistency in their principles. Apuleius tells us, that not only the scholars, but the younger pupils, were assembled about dinner-time, and examined what good they had done that day; and such as could not point out some act of humanity, or useful pursuit that they had been engaged in, were not allowed any dinner.

‡ They did not hold the mortality, but the transmigration of the soul.

‖ This we suppose to mean man himself, as not being acquainted with himself.

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuading "Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," said he, "I wished "him either to live with honour, or to die as a coward de-"serves*."

The fifth had this question put to him, "Which do "you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." As the king appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse ques-"tions must have abstruse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he demanded, "What are the best means for a man to make himself "loved?" He answered, "If possessed of great power, "do not make yourself feared."

The seventh was asked, "How a man might become a "god?" He answered, "By doing what is impossible for "man to do."

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he; "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was, "How long is it good "for a man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher, as "he does not prefer death to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. The old man said, "In my opinion they have "all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy "judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first." "No," replied the philosopher; "not except you choose "to break your word: For you declared the man that "answered worst should first suffer."

The king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them. After which he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, to the other Indian sages who were of most reputation, and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him. Onesicritus tells us, Calanus treated him with great insolence and harshness, bidding him to strip himself naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine; "You should not

* One of the manuscripts gives us καλως here, instead of κακως. Then the sense will be, "Because I wished him either to live or die "with honour." Which we cannot but prefer; for he who has regard enough for a man to wish him to live with honour, cannot be so envious as to wish him to die with dishonour. At the same time we agree with Moses Du Soul, that some archness is intended in most of the answers; but what archness is there in this, as it is commonly translated, *Because I wished him either to live honourably, or to die miserably.*

"hear me on any other condition," said he, "though "you came from Jupiter himself." Dandamis behaved with more civility; and when Onesicritus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he said "They appeared to him to have been men of genius, "but to have lived with too passive a regard to the laws."

Others say, Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messenger, but only asked, "Why Alexander had "taken so long a journey?" As to Calanus, it is certain Taxiles prevailed with him to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but because he addressed them with the word *Cale*, which is the Indian form of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. This philosopher, we are told, presented Alexander with a good image of his empire. He laid a dry and shrivelled hide before him, and first trod upon the edges of it: This he did all round; and as he trod on one side, it started up on the other. At last he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay still. By this emblem he showed him, that he should fix his residence, and plant his principal force in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities.

Alexander spent seven months in falling down the rivers to the Ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and sailed to an island which he called Scilloustis*, but others call it Psiltoucis. There he landed, and sacrificed to the gods. He likewise considered the nature of the sea and of the coast, as far as it was accessible. And after having besought Heaven, "That no man might ever reach be-"yond the bounds of his expedition," he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to sail round, keeping India on the right. With the rest of his forces he returned by land, through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to such extremities, and lost such numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no less than a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Violent distempers, ill diet, and excessive heats, destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages: For it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to

* Arrian calls it Cilutta. Here they first observed the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which surprised them not a little.

subsist on but a few bad sheep, which used to feed on the fish thrown up by the sea; consequently they were poor, and their flesh of a bad flavour.

With much difficulty he traversed this country in sixty days, and then arrived in Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance; for, besides that the land is fertile in itself, the neighbouring princes and grandees supplied him. After he had given his army some time to refresh themselves, he marched in Carminia for seven days in a kind of Bacchanalian procession. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horses. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, some covered with rich tapestry and purple hangings, and others shaded with branches of trees, fresh gathered and flourishing. In these were the rest of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers, and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be seen a buckler, a helmet, or spear; but, instead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets. These the soldiers dipped in huge vessels of wine, and drank to each other, some as they marched along, and others seated at tables, which were placed at proper distances on the way. The whole country resounded with flutes, clarionets, and songs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed with a very immodest figure*, and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of Gedrosia†, he gave his army time to refresh themselves again, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. At one of these, in which the choruses disputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas happening to win it, crossed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and seated himself by the king. The

* M. le Fevre (in his notes upon Anacreon) seems to have restored the genuine reading of this passage, by proposing to read, instead of ταις φιαλαις, ὁ Φαλης, or Φαλλος.

† Gedrosia is certainly corrupt. Probably we should read Carmenia. Βασιλειον signifies a capital city, as well as a royal palace, because princes generally reside in their capitals.

Macedonians expressed their satisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiss him, with which at last he complied.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was so much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a design to sail in person from the Euphrates with a great fleet, circle the coast of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules. For this purpose, he constructed, at Thapsacus, a number of vessels of all sorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack of the Malli, his great loss of men in the country of the Orites, and the supposition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new subjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon displaying their injustice, insolence, and avarice. In short, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguing against Antipater, had seized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia: The tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he said, "His mother had considered right; for the Macedonians "would never bear to be governed by a woman."

In consequence of this unsettled state of things, he sent Nearchus again to sea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Meantime he marched in person to chastise his lieutenants for their misdemeanors. Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a stroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no provisions for him; he had only collected three thousand talents in money. Upon his presenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horses; and, as they did not touch it, he said, "Of what use will this provision "now be to me?" and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into custody.

The first thing he did after he entered Persia, was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient custom of the kings, who, upon their return from any excursion to their Persian dominions, used to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reason, several of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but seldom; and Ochus never did: He banished himself to save his money.

Having found the tomb of Cyrus broke open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows: O MAN! WHOSOEVER THOU ART, AND WHENCESOEVER THOU COMEST (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT), I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. ENVY ME NOT THE LITTLE EARTH THAT COVERS MY BODY. Alexander was much affected at these words, which placed before him in so strong a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after having been disordered a little while with the cholic, desired to have his funeral pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair*, and threw it on the fire; and, before he ascended the pile, took leave of the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in jollity and drinking with the king; "For I shall see him," said he, "in a little time "at Babylon." So saying, he stretched himself upon the pile, and covered himself up. Nor did he move at the approach of the flames, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice, according to the custom of the sages of his country. Many years after, another Indian did the same before Augustus Cæsar at Athens, whose tomb is shown to this day, and called *the Indian's tomb*.

Alexander, as soon as he retired from the funeral pile, invited his friends and officers to supper, and, to give life to the carousal, promised that the man who drank most should be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four measures of wine†, and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but survived it only three days. The rest of the guests, as Chares tells us, drank to such a degree, that forty-one of them lost their lives, the weather coming upon them extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He set them the example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of highest quality.

* As some of the hair used to be cut from the forehead of victims.

† About fourteen quarts. The *cbus* was six pints nine-tenths.

As for those Macedonians who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is said, that no less than nine thousand guests sat down, and yet he presented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Every thing else was conducted with the utmost magnificence; he even paid off all their debts; insomuch that the whole expense amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

An officer, who had but one eye, named Antigenes, put himself upon this list of debtors, and produced a person who declared he was so much in his books. Alexander paid the money; but afterwards discovering the fraud, in his anger forbade him the court, and took away his commission. There was no fault to be found with him as a soldier. He had distinguished himself in his youth under Philip, at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart shot from one of the engines; and yet he would neither suffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. The poor wretch could not bear the disgrace he had now brought upon himself; his grief and despair were so great, that it was apprehended he would put an end to his own life. To prevent such a catastrophe the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The thirty thousand boys, whom he left under proper masters, were now grown so much, and made so handsome an appearance; and, what was of more importance, had gained such an activity and address in their exercises, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians; they were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids their route to the sea, in order to their return, the whole army considered it as an injurious and oppressive measure: "He has availed himself," said they, "beyond all reason, of their services, and now "he sends them back with disgrace, and turns them upon "the hands of their country and their parents, in a very "different condition from that in which he received them. "Why does he not dismiss us all? Why does he not "reckon all the Macedonians incapable of service, now "he has got this body of young dancers? Let him go "with them and conquer the world."

Alexander, incensed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Persians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they saw their king with these new attendants, and themselves rejected and spurned with dishonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almost frantic with jealousy and anger. At last, coming to themselves, they repaired to the king's tent, without arms, in one thin garment only; and with tears and lamentations delivered themselves up to his vengeance; desiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deserved.

He was softened with their complaints, but would not appear to hearken to them. They stood two days and nights bemoaning themselves in this manner, and calling for their dear master. The third day he came out to them; and when he saw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their misbehaviour, he condescended to converse with them in a freer manner; and such as were unfit for service he sent over with magnificent presents. At the same time, he signified his pleasure to Antipater, that at all public diversions they should have the most honourable seats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers there; and that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should have their father's pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had dispatched the most urgent affairs, he employed himself again in the celebration of games and other public solemnities; for which purpose three thousand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very seviceable to him. But unfortunately Hephæstion fell sick of a fever in the midst of his festivity. As a young man and a soldier, he could not bear to be kept to strict diet; and taking the opportunity to dine when his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a roasted fowl, and drank a flagon of wine made as cold as possible; in consequence of which he grew worse, and died a few days after.

Alexander's grief on this occasion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horses and mules to be shorn, that they might have their share in the mourning, and with the same view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. The poor physician he crucified. He for-

bade the flute and all other music in his camp for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, which enjoined him to revere Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demigod. After this he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war; for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cussæans, and put all that were come to years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to the *manes* of Hephæstion!

He designed to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, and that the workmanship, as well as design, should exceed the expense, great as it was. He therefore desired to have Stasicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur in every thing that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was most capable of being cut into a human figure; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and conspicuous in the world: A statue which should have a city with then thousand inhabitants in its left hand, and a river that flowed to the sea with a strong current in its right. He did not, however, embraced that proposal, though at that time he busied himself with his architects in contriving and laying out even more absurd and expensive designs.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the Ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared, he had been applied to by some Chaldæans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter Babylon: But he slighted the warning and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls, he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed, that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras the diviner; and, as he did not deny the fact, asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head. "A "terrible presage, indeed!" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras go with impunity: But by this time he was sorry he had not listened to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilon without the walls, and diverted himself with sail-

ing up and down the Euphrates: For there had happened several other ill omens that much disturbed him. One of the largest and handsomest lions that were kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an ass. One day he stripped for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball: After the diversion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man sitting in profound silence on his throne, dressed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would answer: At last, coming to himself, he said, "My name "is Dionysius, and I am a native of Messene. Upon a "criminal process against me, I left the place, and em-"barked for Babylon: There I have been kept a long "time in chains: But this day the god Serapis appeared "to me, and broke my chains; after which he conducted "me hither, and ordered me to put on this robe and dia-"dem, and sit here in silence."

After the man had thus explained himself, Alexander, by the advice of his soothsayers, put him to death. But the anguish of his mind increased; on one hand, he almost despaired of the succours of heaven, and on the other distrusted his friends. He was most afraid of Antipater and his sons; one of which, named Iolaus*, was his cup-bearer; the other, named Cassander, was lately arrived from Macedonia; and happening to see some barbarians prostrate themselves before the king, like a man accustomed only to the Grecian manners, and a stranger to such a sight, he burst out into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at the affront, seized him by the hair, and with both hands dashed his head against the wall. Cassander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers; which greatly irritated the king. "What is "this talk of thine?" said he, "Dost thou think that "men who had suffered no injury, would come so far to "bring a false charge?" "Their coming so far," replied Cassander, "is an argument that the charge is false, "because they are at a distance from those who are able "to contradict them." At this Alexander smiled, and said, "These are some of Aristotle's sophisms, which make

* Arrian and Curtius call him *Iollas*. Plutarch calls him *Iolas* below.

" equally for either side of the question. But be assured
" I will make you repent it, if these men have had the
" least injustice done them."

This and other menaces, left such a terror upon Cassander, and made so lasting an impression upon his mind, that many years after, when king of Macedon, and master of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of that of Alexander is said to have struck him with such horror, that he trembled all over, and it was with difficulty he recovered of the giddiness it caused in his brain.

When Alexander had once given himself up to superstition, his mind was so preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties, that he turned the least incident which was any thing strange and out of the way, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrifices, purifiers, and prognosticators; they were all to be seen exercising their talents there. So true it is, that though the disbelief of religion, and contempt of things divine, is a great evil, yet superstition is a greater: For as water gains upon low grounds*, so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's case. However, upon the receipt of some oracles concerning Hephæstion, from the god he commonly consulted, he gave a truce to his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went, according to custom, to refresh himself in the bath, in order to retire to rest: But in the mean time Medius came and invited him to take part in a carousal, and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him. It did not, however, seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a spear. These are circumstances invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affect-

* The text in this place is corrupt. For the saks of those readers who have not Bryan's edition of the Greek, we shall give the emendation which the learned Moses du Soul proposes——ἡ δεισιδαιμονια δικην ὑδατος, αει προς το ταπεινωμενον και ΚΑΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΡΕΟΥΣΑ; αβελτηριας και φοβω τον Αλεξανδρον ΑΝΕΠΛΗΡΟΥ.

ing and extraordinary. Aristobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirst, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month *Daesius*, *June*.

But in his journals the account of his sickness is as follows: "On the eighteenth of the month Daesius, finding "the fever upon him, he lay in his bath-room. The next "day, after he had bathed, he removed into his own "chamber, and played many hours with Medius at dice. "In the evening he bathed again, and after having sacri-"ficed to the gods, he ate his supper. In the night the "fever returned. The twentieth he also bathed, and, "after the customary sacrifice, sat in the bath-room, and "diverted himself with hearing Nearchus tell the story "of his voyage, and all that was most observable with re-"spect to the Ocean. The twenty-first was spent in the "same manner. The fever increased, and he had a very "bad night. The twenty-second the fever was violent. "He ordered his bed to be removed, and placed by the "great bath. There he talked to his generals about the "vacancies in his army, and desired they might be filled "up with experienced officers. The twenty-fourth he "was much worse. He chose, however, to be carried to "assist at the sacrifice. He likewise gave orders, that "the principal officers of the army should wait within the "court, and the officers keep watch all night without. "The twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace, on the "other side the river, where he slept a little, but the "fever did not abate; and when his generals entered the "room he was speechless. He continued so the day fol-"lowing. The Macedonians, by this time, thinking he "was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, and "threatened the great officers in such a manner, that "they were forced to admit them, and suffer them all to "pass unarmed by the bed-side. The twenty-seventh, "Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis, "to enquire whether they should carry Alexander thither, "and the deity ordered that they should not remove him. "The twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died." These particulars are taken almost word for word from his diary.

There was no suspicion of poison at the time of his death; but six years after (we are told), Olympias, upon some information, put a number of people to death, and

ordered the remains of Iolas, who was supposed to have given him the draught, to be dug out of the grave. Those who say Aristotle advised Antipater to such a horrid deed, and furnished him with the poison he sent to Babylon, allege one Agnothemis as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus. They add, that the poison was a water of a cold and deadly quality*, which distils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it as they would do so many dew-drops, and keep it in an ass's hoof; its extreme coldness and acrimony being such, that it makes its way through all other vessels. The generality, however, look upon the story of the poison as a mere fable; and they have this strong argument in their favour, that though, on account of the disputes which the great officers were engaged in for many days, the body lay unembalmed† in a sultry place, it had no sign of any such taint, but continued fresh and clear.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians: But being extremely jealous of Statira, she laid a snare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander; and having by this means got her into her power, she sacrificed both her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which she filled up with earth. Perdiccas was her accomplice in this murder. Indeed he had now the principal power, which he exercised in the name of Aridæus, whom he treated rather as a screen than as a king.

Aridæus was the son of Philip, by a courtesan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in understanding was the consequence of a distemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any share: For it is said there was something amiable and great in him when a boy; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that disturbed his brain‡.

* Hence it was called the *Stygian Water*. Nonacris was a city of Arcadia.

† ἀθεραπευτον.

‡ Portraits of the same person, taken at different periods of life, though they differ greatly from each other, retain a resemblance upon the whole. And so it is in general with the characters of men. But Alexander seems to be an exception; for nothing can admit of greater dissimilarity than that which entered into his disposition at dif-

JULIUS CÆSAR.

WHEN Sylla had made himself master of Rome*, he endeavoured to bring Cæsar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna one of the late tyrants; and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears†, he confiscated her dowry. Indeed, Cæsar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the son he had by her, was Cæsar's cousin-german. At first Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæsar, not content with escaping so, presented himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood‡, though he was not yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted his influence against him, and he miscarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when some said, there was no need to put such a boy to death, he answered, "Their sagacity was small, if they did not, in that "boy, see many Marius's."

This saying being reported to Cæsar, he concealed himself a long time, wandering up and down in the country

ferent times, and in different circumstances. He was brave and pusillanimous, merciful and cruel, modest and vain, abstemious and luxurious, rational and superstitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent. Nor were these changes casual or temporary: The style of his character underwent a total revolution, and he passed from virtue to vice in a regular and progressive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteristics that never forsook him. If there were any vice of which he was incapable, it was avarice; if any virtue, it was humility.

* Some imagine that the beginning of this Life is lost; but if they look back to the introduction to the life of Alexander, that notion will vanish.

† Cæsar would not make such a sacrifice to the dictator as Piso had done, who, at his command, divorced his wife Annia. Pompey, too, for the sake of Sylla's alliance, repudiated Antistia.

‡ Cæsar had the priesthood before Sylla was dictator. In the seventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Cossutia, though she was of a consular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, by whose interest, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Dialis* or priest of Jupiter. Sylla, when absolute master of Rome, insisted on his divorcing Cornelia, and, upon his refusal, deprived him of that office. *Sueton. in Julio.*

of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius, who commanded them, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicodemus the king. His stay, however, with him was not long. He re-embarked, and was taken, near the isle of Pharmacusa, by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him, and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money, he dispatched his people to different cities, and in the mean time remained with only one friend and two attendants among these Cilicians, who considered murder as a trifle. Cæsar however held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to these pirates; and when they expressed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians; nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus*, in order to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor by the island, took most of them, together with the money, and imprisoned them at Pergamus. After which he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Asia, because to him, as prætor, it belonged to punish them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners, as he had

* Dacier reads *Melos*, which was one of the Cyclades, but does not mention his authority.

often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they took him to be in jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But first he went to Rhodes, to study under Apollonius, the son of Molo*, who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero also was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them; so that undoubtedly he was the second orator in Rome; and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never rose to that pitch of eloquence to which his powers would have brought him, being engaged in those wars and political intrigues, which at last gained him the empire. Hence it was, that afterwards, in his *Anticato*, which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers, "Not to expect in the "performance of a military man the style of a complete "orator, who had bestowed all his time upon such stu-"dies."

Upon his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanors in his government, and many cities of Greece supported the charge by their evidence. Dola-

* It should be *Apollonius Molo*, not Apollonius the son of Molo. According to Suetonius, Cæsar had studied under him at Rome before this adventure of the pirates. Thus far Dacier; and Ruauld and other critics say the same. Yet Strabo (l. xiv. p. 655, 660, 661) tells us Molo and Apollonius were two different men. He affirms that they were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both scholars of Menacles the Alabandian; and that they both professed the same art at Rhodes, though Molo went thither later than Apollonius, who on that account, applied to him that of Homer, Οψε μολων. Cicero likewise seems to distinguish them, calling the one Molo, and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, especially in his first book *De Oratore*, where he introduces M. Antonius speaking of him thus: "For this one thing I always liked Apollonius "the Alabandian; though he taught for money, he did not suffer "any whom he thought incapable of making a figure as orators, "to lose their time and labour with him, but sent them home, "exhorting them to apply themselves to that art for which they "were, in his opinion, best qualified."

To solve this difficulty, we are willing to suppose, with Ruauld, that there were two Molos cotemporaries; for the testimonies of Suetonius (*in Cæsare*, c. 4.) and of Quintilian (*Institut.* l. xii. c. 6.) that Cæsar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be over-ruled.

bella was acquitted. Cæsar, however, in acknowledgment of the readiness Greece had shown to serve him, assisted her in her prosecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cause was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæsar pleaded it in so powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people; alleging that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he showed at Rome in defending persons impeached, gained him a considerable interest, and his engaging address and conversation carried the hearts of the people: For he had a condescension not to be expected from so young a man. At the same time, the freedom of his table, and the magnificence of his expense, gradually increased his power, and brought him into the administration. Those who envied him, imagined that his resources would soon fail, and therefore at first made light of his popularity, considerable as it was: But when it was grown to such a height that it was scarce possible to demolish it, and had a plain tendency to the ruin of the constitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however small, are to be neglected; because continuance makes them great; and the very contempt they are held in, gives them opportunity to gain that strength which cannot be resisted.

Cicero seems to be the first who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and saw deep and dangerous designs under the smiles of his benignity. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and exe-"cutes; but, on the other hand, when I see him adjust-"ing his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his "head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a "man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the de-"struction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that we are upon.

The first proof he had of the affection of the people, was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The second was more remarkable: It was on occasion of his pronouncing from the rostrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do justice to her

virtue: At the same time he had the hardiness to produce the images of Marius, which had not been seen before during Sylla's administration; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the state. Upon this some began to raise a clamour against Cæsar; but they were soon silenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expressing their admiration of his courage, in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after so long a suppression, and raising them, as it were, from the shades below.

It had long been the custom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people: They sympathised with him, and considered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the social duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæstor into Spain with* Antistius Veter the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after; and when he came to be prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by taking Veter's son for his quæstor. When that commission was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife; having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people who observed his prodigious expense, thought he was purchasing a short and transient honour very dear; but, in fact, he was gaining the greatest things he could aspire to, at a small price. He is said to have been a thousand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the superintendance of the Appian Road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and when ædile, he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. These things attached the people to him so strongly, that every one sought for new honours and employments, to recompense his generosity.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest; and that of Marius, which was

* See Vell. Paterculus, ii. 43.

in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter. In pursuance of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the Capitol. Next morning these figures were seen glistening with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared them the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man who erected them; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed, that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion. This, they said, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses, whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them and make what innovations he pleased. On the other hand, the partisans of Marius encouraging each other, ran to the Capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the sight of Marius's countenance. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The senate was assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him was this memorable expression: "You no longer attack the "commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well, that the senate gave it for him: And his admirers, still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, for he might gain every thing with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transaction died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in Rome, and of the greatest interest in the senate: Nevertheless Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of

the competitors seemed almost equal, and Catulus, more uneasy than the others under the uncertainty of success, on account of his superior dignity, sent privately to Cæsar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit: But he answered, "He would rather borrow still larger sums to carry his "election."

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, "My dear mother, you will see "me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was any thing more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it for Cæsar. The senate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this success; they apprehended that he would now push the people into all manner of licentiousness and misrule. Therefore, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero much for sparing Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it, and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them is uncertain. What is universally agreed upon, is this: The guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as consul, took the sense of the senators as to the punishment that should be inflicted upon them; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who, in a studied speech, represented, "That it seemed "neither agreeable to justice, nor to the customs of their "country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death, "without an open trial, except in cases of extreme neces-"sity: But that they should rather be kept in prison, in "any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, "till Catiline was subdued; and then the senate might "take cognizance of the crimes of each conspirator in "full peace, and at their leisure."

As there appeared something humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, those who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other side of the question, came into it.

But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a severe speech against the opinion of Cæsar, scrupled not to declare his suspicions of him; and this, with other arguments, had so much weight, that the two conspirators were delivered to the executioner. Nay, as Cæsar was going out of the senate-house, several of the young men, who guarded Cicero's person, ran upon him with their drawn swords; but we are told that Curio covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and that Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought the killing him unjust and unlawful. If this was true, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. He was blamed, however, afterwards, for not availing himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for being influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed strongly attached to Cæsar: For, a few days after, when Cæsar entered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself of the suspicions he lay under, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and as they sat longer than usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Cæsar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed.

Cato, therefore, fearing an insurrection of the indigent populace who were foremost in all seditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæsar, persuaded the senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five million five hundred thousand *drachmas* to the yearly expense of the state*. This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably reducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account.

Cæsar's prætorship was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but that year there happened a disagreeable event in his own family. There was a young patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune, and distinguished eloquence, but at the same time one of the foremost among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, nor did she discountenance it: But the women's apartment was so

* But this distribution did not continue long.

narrowly observed, and all the steps of Pompeia so much attended to by Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, who was a woman of great virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddesses the Romans worship, there is one they call *Bonna Dea*, the *Good Goddess*, as the Greeks have one they call *Gynæcea*, the *Patroness of the Women*. The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans say she was a Dryad, and wife of Faunus; and the Greeks assure us she is that mother of Bacchus, whose name is not to be uttered: For this reason the women, when they keep her festival, cover their tents with vine branches; and, according to the fable, a sacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddess. No man is allowed to be present, nor even to be in the house, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies the women then perform by themselves, are said to be like those in the feasts of Orpheus.

When the anniversary of the festival comes, the consul or prætor (for it is at the house of one of them it is kept) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife now having the house to herself, decorates it in a proper manner; the mysteries are performed in the night; and the whole is spent in music and play. Pompeia this year was the directress of the feast. Clodius, who was yet a beardless youth, thought he might pass in women's apparel undiscovered, and having taken the garb and instruments of a female musician, perfectly resembled one. He found the door open, and was safely introduced by a maid-servant who knew the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as she staid a considerable time, Clodius durst not remain where she left him, but wandering about the great house, endeavoured to avoid the lights. At last Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and supposing she spoke to a woman, challenged him to play: Upon his refusing it, she drew him into the midst of the room, and asked him who he was, and whence he came? He said, he waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid; for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him: Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out she had found a man in the house. The thing struck them all with terror and astonishment, Aurelia put a stop to the ceremonies, and covered up the symbols of their mysterious worship. She

ordered the doors to be made fast, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. At length Clodius was found, lurking in the chamber of the maid-servant, who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the house; after which they went home immediately, though it was yet night, and informed their husbands of what had happened.

Next morning the report of the sacrilegious attempt spread through all Rome, and nothing was talked of, but that Clodius ought to make satisfaction with his life to the family he had offended, as well as to the city and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal senators strengthened the charge, by accusing him to his face of many villanous debaucheries, and, among the rest, of incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themselves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges, was of much service to his cause. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when called as an evidence on the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alleged against Clodius. As this declaration appeared somewhat strange, the accuser demanded, why, if that was the case, he had divorced his wife? "Because," said he, "I would have the "chastity of my wife clear even of suspicion." Some say Cæsar's evidence was according to his conscience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were set upon saving Clodius: Be that as it might, Clodius came off clear; most of the judges having confounded* the letters

* Here it is συγκεχυμενας τοις πραγμασι τας γνωμας. M. Dacier would correct, by this, the passage in the life of Cicero, which is τας δελτους συγκεχυμενας τοις γραμμασι. He translates it *la plupart des judges ayant donne leurs avis sur plusieurs affaires en meme tems;* "the greatest part of the judges comprehending other causes along "with this in their sentence." But that could not be the case; for that manner of passing sentence, or rather of passing bills, was forbidden by the *Lex Cæcilia et Didia.* Besides, it would not have answered the purpose: Their sentence would have been equally known. We therefore rather choose to correct this passage by that in the life of Cicero.

After the pleadings were finished, the prætor gave each of the judges three tablets; one marked with the letter *A*, which acquitted; another with the letter *C*, which condemned; and a third with *N. L. Non Liquet;* "the case is not clear." Each judge put into an urn which tablet he pleased: And as they withdrew to consult before they did

upon the tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians, if they condemned him, nor lose their credit with the patricians, if they acquitted him.

The government of Spain was allotted Cæsar after his prætorship*. But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town, in passing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedency, or such envy and ambition as as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar answered with great seriousness, "I assure you, I had rather be the first man here, than the second man in Rome."

In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain he bestowed some leisure hours in reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficient cause for concern, when Alexander, at my age, reigned over so

it, it was easy to deface or obscure any letters upon the tablets, because they were only written in wax.

Still there occurs this objection, Would the prætor who was to count them, and pass sentence according to the majority, admit of tablets with letters so defaced or obscured? A corrupt one, indeed, might, and interpret them the way he was inclined. But as Plutarch does not say *obscured*, but συγκεχυμενας, *confused*, possibly he only meant that the judges, instead of putting tablets all marked with the same letter, put in several of each kind, in order to prevent the displeasure of the senate or the people from fixing upon any of them in particular.

* It was the government of the Farther Spain only that fell to his lot. This province comprehended Lusitania and Bætica; that is, Portugal and Andalusia. Causabon supposed the word εκτος to have slipt out of the text between την and Ιβηριαν; but it is not a matter of importance enough to alter the text for it.

" many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious
" achievement to boast?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to business with great diligence, and having added ten new raised cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched against the Callæcians* and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the Ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in the war; he restored harmony among the cities, and removed the occasions of quarrel between debtors and creditors; for he ordered that the creditor should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By these means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his soldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories, saluted him *Imperator*.

At his return he found himself under a troublesome dilemma; those that solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and such as sue for the consulship, to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these were things that he could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied to the senate for permission to stand candidate, though absent, and offer his service by his friends. Cato strongly opposed his request, insisting on the prohibition by law; and when he saw numbers influenced by Cæsar, he attempted to prevent his success by gaining time; with which view he spun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon any thing that day; Cæsar then determined to give up the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar secured the interest of both to himself; and while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the constitution. For it was not, what most people imagine, the disagreement between Cæsar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather

* In the text Καλλαϊκος. Cruserius renders it *Gallæcos;* but, according to Cellarius, he is under a mistake.

their union. They first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was then looked upon as a troublesome and over-busy man; afterwards he was esteemed a wise, though not a fortunate counsellor.

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul, with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul, as to a seditious tribune; I mean the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted: He protested with great warmth, "That they threw him into the arms of the people against "his will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposi-"tion of the senate, laid him under the disagreeable ne-"cessity of seeking protection from the commons." Accordingly he did immediately apply to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud, "Whether "they approved his laws?" and as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those who threatened to oppose them with the sword. They declared they would assist him; and Pompey added, "Against "those who come with the sword, I will bring both sword "and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain: It appeared not only unworthy of his character, the respect the senate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still farther of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus the son of Sylla. —Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these

proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness, how unsupportable it was, that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women should gain them what governments and forces they pleased.

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, when he found his opposition to their new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up in his own house during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted which Cæsar had proposed merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato spoke against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes: But when he saw him going to prison without speaking one word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the *lictors'* hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar on this occasion to the house. The greatest part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had withdrawn. Considius, one of the oldest senators that attended, taking occasion to observe, "That it was the soldiers and naked swords that kept the "rest from assembling," Cæsar said, "Why does not fear "keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age "is my defence; the small remains of my life deserve not "much care or precaution."

The most disgraceful step, however, that Cæsar took in his whole consulship, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the same who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero; nor would he set out for his government before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment: For history informs us, that all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that coun-

try represent him as another man: We begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders the world ever produced: For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued; this, in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame, that in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people he humanized; one, in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed: For in less than ten years war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of men, one million of which he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist. To give three or four instances:

Acilius, in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right hand cut off with a sword, yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had an eye shot out with an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received a hundred and thirty darts upon his shield*,

* Cæsar (*Bell. Civ.* l. iii.) says, this brave soldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his shield, and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with two hundred thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, besides other military rewards.

called out to the enemy, as if he would surrender himself: Upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword, that the arm dropt off; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his assistance, and saved his life.

In Britain, some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men: After which, the soldier with much difficulty, partly by swimming, partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar, and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier, in great distress, threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and with tears in his eyes, begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quæstor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæstor, "He gave him his life." Petronius answered: "It is "not the custom of Cæsar's soldiers to take, but to give "quarter," and immediately plunged his sword in his breast.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them: For his whole conduct showed, that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, to minister to luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own, but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich, than as he was in a condition to do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible, was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory; but they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far in all appearance above his bodily powers: For he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and

subject to violent headachs and epileptic fits. He had the first attack of the falling sickness at Corduba. He did not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself; on the contrary, he sought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, by simple diet, by seldom coming under covert. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against its attacks.

When he slept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hindrance to business. In the day-time he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant at his side, whom he employed, on such occasions, to write for him, and with a soldier behind, who carried his sword. By these means he travelled so fast, and with so little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out for those parts from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice, that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horseback, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is also said that Cæsar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, who were in the same city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business, or great extent of the city, did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with respect to diet they give us this remarkable proof: Happening to sup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his, at Milan, there was sweet ointment poured upon the asparagus, instead of oil. Cæsar ate of it freely notwithstanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expressing their dislike of it. "It was enough," said he, "to forbear eating, if it was disagreeable to you. He "who finds fault with any rusticity, is himself a rustic."

One day, as he was upon an excursion, a violent storm forced him to seek shelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that scarce big enough for a man to sleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he said, "Honours for the great, and necessaries for the "infirm," and immediately gave up the room to Oppius,

while himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetians and the Tigurini; who after having burnt twelve of their own towns, and four hundred villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage; and in numbers they were equal; being in all three hundred thousand, of which a hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. Cæsar sent his lieutenant Labienus against the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar*. But the Helvetians suddenly attacked Cæsar, as he was upon the march to a confederate town†. He gained, however, a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprise; and when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him: Upon which he said, "When I "have won the battle I shall want my horse for the pur-"suit; at present let us march as we are against the enemy." Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot‡.

It cost him a long and severe conflict to drive their army out of the field; but he found the greatest difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages; for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces; insomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action he added a still greater: He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of an hundred thousand, and upwards, and obliged them to resettle the country they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities they had burnt. This he did, in fear that if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine and seize it.

* Cæsar says himself, that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raised from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, and that he marched in person at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Arar, now the Saone, and killed great numbers of them.

† Bibracte, now Autun.

‡ He sent back his horse, and the rest followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to show his troops that he would take his share in all the danger. Vide *Bell. Gall.* lib. i.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans*, though he had before honoured their king Ariovistus with the title of an ally of Rome. They proved unsupportable neighbours to those he had subdued, and it was easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly those of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæsar's service only in hopes of living luxuriously, and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "That they were at liberty "to retire, and needed not hazard their persons against "their inclination, since they were so unmanly and spirit-"less: For his part he would march with the tenth le-"gion only against those barbarians; for they were nei-"ther better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worse "general than Marius." Upon this the tenth legion deputed some of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After a march of several days, they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Cæsar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had supposed they would not dare to stand the Germans, when they went in quest of them. He was much surprised, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæsar; and, what was worse, he saw his own troops were disheartened. They were dispirited still more by the prophecies of their matrons who had the care of divining, and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs, or other noise made by the stream. On this occasion they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæsar having got information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it

* The Ædui implored his protection against Ariovistus, king of the Germans, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long subsisted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hostages. The Ædui were the people of Autun; the Arverni of Auvergne; and the Sequani of Frenche Comte. *Cæs. Bell. Gall.* lib. i.

better to engage them while thus dejected, than to sit still and wait their time. For this reason he attacked their intrenchments, and the hills upon which they were posted; which provoked them to such a degree, that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought and were entirely routed. Cæsar pursued them to the Rhine, which was three hundred furlongs from the field of battle*, covering all the way with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus reached the river time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is said to have amounted to eighty thousand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter-quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this side the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the transactions in Rome: For the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. During his stay there, he carried on a variety of state intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their respects to him, and he sent them all away satisfied; some laden with presents, and others happy in hope. In the same manner, throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As soon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the most powerful people in Gaul, and whose territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and assembled a great army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of those Gauls who were allies of Rome, defeated the main body, which made but a feeble resistance, and killed such numbers, that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies. Such of the insurgents as dwelt upon the sea-coast, surrendered without opposition.

From thence he led his army against the Nervii†, who live among thick woods. After they had secured their families and most valuable goods, in the best manner they could, in the heart of a large forest, at a great distance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of sixty

* Cæsar says it was only five miles from the field of battle; therefore, instead of τριακοσιους, we should read τεσσαρακοντα.

† Their country is now called Hainault and Cambresis.

thousand, and fell upon Cæsar as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the least notion of such an attack*. They first routed his cavalry, and then surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion†, seeing his danger, run from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have survived the battle: But though encouraged by this bold act of Cæsar, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Those brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the spot. It is said that out of sixty thousand not above five hundred were saved, and out of four hundred Nervian senators not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all manner of festivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed, the danger appeared very great, on account of so many nations rising at once; and as

* As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had, in a manner, every thing to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or to die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and the tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely: They were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havoc of them.

† In the original it is the twelfth; but it appears from the second book of Cæsar's Commentaries, that we should read here δεκατον not δωδεκατον. Indeed the Paris manuscript has δεκατον.

Cæsar was the man who surmounted it, the affection the people had for him, made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had settled the affairs of Gaul, on the other side the Alps, he crossed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interest in Rome; where the candidates for the great offices of state were supplied with money out of his funds, to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did every thing to extend his power. Nay, the greatest and most illustrious personages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, proconsul in Spain: So that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending their masters, and above two hundred senators honoured him with their assiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of business, they parted. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the year ensuing, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies out of the treasury for his occasions. The last particular appeared extremely absurd to all men of sense. They who received so much of Cæsar's money, persuaded the senate to give him money, as if he was in want of it; or rather, they insisted it should be done, and every honest man sighed inwardly while he suffered the decree to pass. Cato, indeed, was absent, having been sent with a commission to Cyprus, on purpose that he might be out of the way: But Favonius, who trod in Cato's steps, vigorously opposed those measures; and when he found that his opposition availed nothing, he left the house, and applied to the people, exclaiming against such pernicious counsels. No one, however, attended to him; some being overawed by Pompey and Crassus, and others influenced by regard for Cæsar, in whose smile alone they lived, and all their hopes flourished.

Cæsar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Usipetes and the Teuchteri*, two great German nations, having crossed

* The people of the *March* and of Westphalia, and those of Munster and Cleves.

This war happened under the consulship of Crassus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 693. But there were several intermediate transactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. The reduction of the Advatici by Cæsar; of seven other nations by P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir; offers of submission

the Rhine to make conquests. The account of the affair with them we shall take from Cæsar's own Commentaries*. These barbarians sent deputies to him to propose a suspension of arms, which was granted them. Nevertheless, they attacked him as he was making an excursion. With only eight hundred horse, however, who were not prepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which consisted of five thousand. Next day they sent other deputies to apologize for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. These agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately against them; thinking it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canusius writes, that when the senate were voting a public thanksgiving and processions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians, to expiate that breach of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon its author, rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians that had passed the Rhine, there were four hundred thousand killed. The few who escaped, repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany, called Sicambri. Cæsar laid hold on this pretence against that people, but his true motive was an avidity of fame, to be the first Roman that ever crossed the Rhine in an hostile manner. In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it, though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees, and other timber, which much shocked and weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By these means he exhibited a spectacle astonishing to thought, so immense a bridge finished in ten days. His army passed over it without opposition, the Suevi, and the Sicambri, the most warlike nations in Germany, having retired into

from several nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon Galba in his winter quarters at Octodurus, and his brave defence and victory; the severe chastisement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitaine. These particulars are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the War in Gaul.

* Ruauld justly observes, that Plutarch should not have called the Commentaries ἐφημερίδες, as he does here, but ὑπομνήματα, as usual.

the heart of their forests, and concealed themselves in cavities overhung with wood. He laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better disposed Germans in the interest of Rome*; after which he returned into Gaul, having spent no more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise: For he was the first who entered the Western Ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers have represented it so incredibly large, that others contested its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction: Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness†. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished: he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be sent over to him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in childbed. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends, too, were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition: For the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithstanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

As Cæsar's army was now very large‡, he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter-quarters; after

* The Ubii, the people of Cologne.

† It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæsar's time; for the inhabitants, he says, lived chiefly on milk and flesh. *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

‡ This army consisted of eight legions; and as there was almost a famine in the country, the consequence of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to separate his troops for their better subsistence.

which he took the road to Italy, according to custom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls rising again, traversed the country with considerable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and insulted their intrenchments. The most numerous and the strongest body of the insurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and besieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with sixty thousand men; and though the spirit of those brave Romans made a resistance above their strength, they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæsar, who was at a great distance, at last getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and having collected a body of men, which did not exceed seven thousand, hastened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raised the siege, and went to meet him; for they despised the smallness of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæsar, to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a small army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men strict orders not to fight, but to throw up a strong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the securest manner; contriving by all these manœuvres to increase the enemy's contempt of him. It succeeded as he wished; the Gauls came up with great insolence and disorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæsar making a sudden sally, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them. This success laid the spirit of revolt in those parts; and for farther security he remained all the winter in Gaul, visiting all the quarters, and keeping a sharp eye upon every motion towards war. Besides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of those he had lost; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raised in Cisalpine Gaul.

After this*, the seeds of hostilities, which had long before been privately scattered in the more distant parts of

He was therefore under the necessity of fixing the quarters at such a distance, which would otherwise have been impolitic. He tells us, (lib. v.) that all the legions except one, which was in a quiet country, were posted within the compass of a hundred miles.

* Plutarch passes over the whole sixth book of Cæsar's Commentaries, as he had done the third. Many considerable events happened

the country, by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, shot up into one of the greatest and most dangerous wars that was ever seen in Gaul; whether we consider the number of troops and store of arms, the treasures amassed for the war, or the strength of the towns and fastnesses they occupied. Besides, it was then the most severe season of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed in such a manner that they looked like so many ponds; the roads lay concealed in snow, or in floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers: So that it seemed impossible for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of which were the Arverni* and Carnutes†. The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauls had put to death for attempting at monarchy. Vercingetorix having divided his forces into several parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raise all Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were raising against him at Rome: But had he staid a little longer till Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the terrors of the Gauls would not have been less dreadful to Italy now, than those of the Cimbri were formerly.

Cæsar, who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner informed of this great defection, than he set out to chastise its authors; and by the swiftness of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of a severe winter, he showed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted: For where a courier could scarce have been supposed to come in many days, Cæsar was seen with his whole army, ravaging the country, destroying the castles, storming the cities, and receiving the submission of such as repented. Thus he went on, till the Ædui‡ also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to the Romans,

between the victory last mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; such as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæsar's second passage over the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

* The people of Auvergne, particularly those of Clermont and St. Flour.

† The people of Chartres and Orleans.

‡ The people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalens upon Sone, and Nevers.

and had been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay through Cæsar's army. He, therefore, decamped in all haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones*, in order to come into that of the Sequani†, who were fast friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat‡. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arverni still show a sword suspended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods.

Most of those who escaped out of the battle, retired into Alesia|| with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of troops there was to defend it. During the siege he found himself exposed to a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy to think on. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of three hundred thousand; and there were not less than seventy thousand combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that came to its succour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been absolutely lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed to Cæsar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalship, than on any other occasion. But what seems very astonishing, is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and keep the action a

* The district of Langres.

† The district of Besancon.

‡ This passage in the original is corrupt or defective. We have endeavoured to supply that defect, by reading, with M. Dacier, Γερμανοις, instead of αλλοις, which is agreeable to Cæsar's own account of the battle, in the seventh book of his Commentaries.

|| Cæsar calls it Alexia, now Alise, near Flavigny.

secret to the troops in the town*. It is still more wonderful that the Romans, who were left before the walls, should not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women, who saw the Romans on each side of the town bringing to their camp a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking vessels, and tents of the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom, or a dream, the greatest part being killed on the spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Cæsar much trouble, at last surrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himself and equipped his horse in the most magnificent manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken some circuits about Cæsar as he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his amour, and placed himself at Cæsar's feet, where he remained in profound silence, till Cæsar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.

Cæsar had been some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar. For Crassus who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so; nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as easily pull him down as he had set him up: Whereas Cæsar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like a champion, for exercise. By long service and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the misgovernment at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself: and indeed all ranks of men were so corrupted, that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offen-

* Cæsar says, those in the town had a distinct view of the battle.

sive weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things, in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that the physician ought to be pitched upon, who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand; by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time every step he took was directed that way. Cato understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul; that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. The senate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed a thousand talents a-year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuance of his commission in Gaul, answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him: For they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar; and Marcellus, then consul, caused one of their senators, who was come with some complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling him, "The marks on his back were so many additional "proofs that he was not a Roman citizen," bade him go show them to Cæsar.

But after the consulship of Marcellus, Cæsar opened the treasures he had amassed in Gaul to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes; he paid off the vast debts of Curio the tribune; he presented the consul Paulus with fifteen hundred talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the *forum*, in the place where that of Fulvius had

stood. Pompey now alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his own interest, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a successor to Cæsar in Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops he had lent him for his wars in that country, and Cæsar returned them with a gratuity of two hundred and fifty drachmas to each man.

Those who conducted these troops back, spread reports among the people, which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They asserted that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæsar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt administration hindered him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his service, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; so obnoxious was Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the suspicions they had of his aiming at absolute power.

Pompey was so much elated with these assurances, that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of. Nay, we are told, that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, Cæsar's requisitions had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their services: For to deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give absolute power to the one, to which the other was unjustly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in behalf of Cæsar, was received with the loudest plaudits; and there were some who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæsar to the same purport, and caused it to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls*. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-

* Instead of διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, some MSS. give us βίᾳ τῶν ὑπάτων.

in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his forces?" and again, "Whether Cæsar should disband his?" few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second*. After which Antony put the question, "Whether both "should lay down their commissions?" and all with one voice answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the consul Lentulus, who cried out, that "Not decrees but arms should be employ-"ed against a public robber," made the senate break up; and on account of the unhappy dissension, all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and six thousand soldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise, when Lentulus the consul rejected it with disdain, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make use of it to exasperate his troops, by shewing them persons of distinction, and magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, and the habit of slaves†; for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not then with him above three hundred horse and five thousand foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps, and he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprise,

* Dio says, there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

† Cassius Longinus went with them in the same disguise.

and the attack he meditated did not require any great numbers: His enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He therefore ordered his lieutenants and other officers, to take their swords without any other armour, and make themselves masters of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all possible care that no blood should be shed or disturbance raised. Hortensius was at the head of this party. As for himself, he spent the day at a public show of gladiators; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment where he entertained company. When it was growing dark he left the company, after having desired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not altogether, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he set out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became more interesting in proportion as the danger drew near. Staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped, to weigh with himself its inconveniences; and, as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were by, among whom was Asinius Pollio; enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprises, he cried out, "The "die is cast!" and immediately passed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it. It is said, that the preceding night he had a most abominable dream; he thought he lay with his mother.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by sea and land, and Cæsar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the

laws of his country; not individuals were seen, as on other occasions, wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and seeking refuge by flight. Most of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was so filled with the hasty conflux of the circling people, that amidst the violent agitation, it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by its own violence: For the whole was a prey to contrary passions, and the most violent convulsions: Those who favoured these disorders were not satisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party, amidst their fears and sorrows, and insulted them with menaces of what was to come; which is the necessary consequence of such troubles in a great city.

Pompey himself, who was already confounded at the turns things had taken, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. Some said, he justly suffered for exalting Cæsar against himself and his country; others, from permitting Lentulus to over-rule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went so far as to bid him "Stamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting speech he had made in the senate, in which he bade them take no thought about preparations for the war; for, as soon as he marched out of Rome, if he did but stamp with his foot, he should fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferor in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities, and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls too fled with him, without offering the sacrifices which custom required before they took their departure from Rome. Most of the senators snatched up those things in their houses that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some, who before were well affected to Cæsar, that in the present terror changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by

the torrent. What a miserable spectacle was the city then! In so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by its pilots, tost about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and seas. But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they considered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæsar: For even Labienus, one of Cæsar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had served under him with the greatest alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey; nevertheless Cæsar sent him his money and his equipage.

After this, Cæsar invested Corfinium, where Domitius with thirty cohorts commanded for Pompey. Domitius* in despair ordered a servant of his, who was his physician, to give him poison. He took the draught prepared for him, as a sure means of death; but, soon after, hearing of Cæsar's extraordinary clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case and the hasty resolution he had taken: Upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he had drank was a sleeping potion, not a deadly one. This gave him such spirits that he rose up and went to Cæsar. But though Cæsar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he soon revolted, and repaired again to Pompey.

The news of this transaction being brought to Rome, gave great relief to the minds of the people, and many who had fled came back again. In the mean time Cæsar having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brundusium, from whence he sent the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæsar, sailed thither himself, as we have related at large in his life. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy in sixty days without spilling a drop of blood.

Finding the city in a more settled condition that he

* Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of Transalpine Gaul; but he imprudently shut himself up in Corfinium before he left Italy.

expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace: But not one of them would take upon him the commission: Whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey, whom they had deserted, or whether they thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. As Metellus the tribune opposed his taking money out of the public treasury, and alleged some laws against it, Cæsar said, "Arms and laws do not flourish "together. If you are not pleased at what I am about, "you have nothing to do but to withdraw: indeed, war "will not bear much liberty of speech. When I say this, "I am departing from my own right; for you and all "whom I have found exciting a spirit of faction against "me, are at my disposal." Saying this, he approached the doors of the treasury, and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus opposed him again, and some praised his firmness; but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any further trouble. "And, young "man," said he, "you are not ignorant that this is harder "for me to say than to do." Metellus, terrified with his menace, retired, and afterwards Cæsar was easily and readily supplied with every thing necessary for the war.

His first movement was to Spain, from whence he was resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himself master of their troops and provinces, to march against Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the course of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army had to combat with famine; yet he continued his operations against the enemy, either by pursuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their escape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law Piso pressed him to send deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Isauricus, to make his court to Cæsar, opposed it. The senate declared him dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he restored to their honours the children of those who had suffered under Sylla; and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the usury.

These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundusium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only six hundred select horses and five legions. It was at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the Athenian month *Poseideon*, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back * his ships to Brundusium to bring over the forces that were left behind: But those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were upon their march to the port: "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and were will be the end of our labours? "Will he harass us forever, as if we had limbs of stone, "or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to repeated "blows; our very shields and cuirasses call out for rest. "Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that we are mortal, that we have the same feelings, and are liable to the "same impressions with other men? The gods themselves "cannot force the seasons, or clear the winter seas of "storms and tempests; and it is in this season that he "would expose us, as if he was flying from his enemies, "rather than pursuing them."

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundusium: But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march; and sitting upon the clifts, they kept their eyes upon the sea towards Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæsar not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundusium delayed to join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a most astonishing enterprise. Though the sea was cover-

* He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. That officer losing the opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, and burnt them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest.

ed with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with his intention, and sail to Brundusium*. In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat there in silence. They fell down the river† Anias for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind rising in the morning, used to beat off the waves of the sea and smooth the mouth of the river: But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up, which overpowered that from the land; so that by the rage of the sea and the counteraction of the stream, the river became extremely rough; the waves dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies, that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar perceiving this, rose up, and showing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, "and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves: But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed so fast into the vessel, that Cæsar at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only; but, in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon after Antony arrived from Brundusium with the troops‡. Cæsar, then in the highest spirits, offered

* Most historians blame this as a rash action: and Cæsar himself, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of this, or of another less dangerous attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.

† Strabo in his seventh book (Ed. Par. p. 316. B. C.) calls this river *Aous*. In Polybius it is called *Lous*; but that is a corruption, the A being changed, by the fault of the transcriber, into an *Λ*.

‡ Antony and Calenus embarked on board the vessels which had escaped Bibulus, eight hundred horse and four legions, that is, three

battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provisions both from sea and land; whereas Cæsar at first had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. The soldiers, however, found great relief from a root * in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it among them, and declared, "That as long as the earth produced such roots, they "would certainly besiege Pompey."

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and ready to shudder at the thought of the impenetrable hardness of Cæsar's troops, who could bear as much as so many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's intrenchments †, and Cæsar had the advantage in them all, except one, in which his party was forced to fly with such precipitation, that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmost confusion, and filled their trenches with the dead. Cæsar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the ensign-staves to stop them, and some left them in his hands, and others threw them upon the ground, insomuch that no less than thirty-two standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life; for having laid hold of a tall and strong man, to stop him and make him face about, the soldier in his terror and confusion lifted up his sword to strike him; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm.

old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

* This root was called *Clera*. Some of Cæsar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it.

† Cæsar observed an old camp which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was inclosed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar attempted to reduce, and it was in this attempt that he suffered so much loss. He lost nine hundred and sixty foot, four hundred horse, among whom were several Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. We mentioned just now that Pompey was inclosed, as in fact he was on the land-side, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar,

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their intrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends as he withdrew, "This day "victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had "had a general who knew how to conquer." He sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life; for he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea, while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and in a place where he suffered the inconveniencies of a siege from the want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia; concluding that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies as he had done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæsar; they considered it as a flight and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue: But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such consequence: He was well provided with every thing requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up intrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldly to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet: And, what was still a more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he, only, because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen: For when he saw the bodies of the enemy who fell in the late action, to the number of a thousand, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword, calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he was in possession of, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wanting to keep the kingly state he had got, would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius, lately come from Spain, where he had succeeded so ill in his command, that he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he did not fight that mer-"chant who trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued at these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for, on account of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi*, a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshments, but recovered surprisingly of the distemper: For, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamed that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of Venus *Nicephora*, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly

* Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place before Pompey or Scipio could come up, gave a general assault, about three in the afternoon; and, though the walls were very high, carried it before sunset.

sanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæsar's pontificate; and numbers sent to Rome, to engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being soon raised to those high offices after the war. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle; so proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horses, and the beauty and vigour of their persons; besides they were much more numerous than Cæsar's, being seven thousand to one thousand. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five thousand, and Cæsar only twenty-two thousand.

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them, "That "Cornificius was well advanced on his way with two "more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts under the "command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara and "Athens." He then asked them, "Whether they chose "to wait for those troops, or to risk a battle without "them?" They answered aloud, "Let us not wait; but "do you find out some stratagem to bring the enemy, as "soon as possible, to an action."

He began with offering sacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the first victim, the soothsayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæsar then asked him, if there appeared in the entrails any auspicious presage? He answered, "It is you who can best "resolve that question. The gods announce a great "change and revolution in affairs. If you are happy at "present, the alteration will be for the worse; if otherwise, expect better fortune." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phenomenon in the air, like a torch, which as it passed over his camp, flamed out with great brightness, and seemed to fall in that of Pompey. And, in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was observed in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæsar, however, so little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp and march to Scotusa*.

But as they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up, and told him the enemy were coming down to give him

* Cæsar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himself the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who were posted over against him, he ordered six cohorts privately to advance from the rear. These he placed behind the right wing, and gave them instructions what to do when the enemy's horse came to charge*. Pompey's disposition was this: He commanded the right wing himself, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law, Scipio, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing; for they designed to surround the right of the enemy, and to make a successful effort where Cæsar fought in person; thinking no body of foot could be deep enough to bear such a shock, but they must necessarily be broken in pieces upon the first impression.

When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed this conduct. He said Pompey was not aware what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each soldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole†.

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he saw a trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to distinguish themselves that day. Cæsar called him by his name, and said, "What cheer, Caius Crassinus‡? "How, think you, do we stand?"—"Cæsar," said the veteran, in a bold accent, and stretching out his hand,

* Cæsar and Appian agree, that Pompey posted himself in his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that Afranius, not Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing. Cæsar does not, indeed, expressly say who commanded there, but he says, "On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts "brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the "flower of his army." See the notes on the Life of Pompey.

† Cæsar was so confident of success, that he ordered his intrenchments to be filled up, assuring his troops that they would be masters of the enemy's camp before night.

‡ Plutarch, in the Life of Pompey, calls him *Crassianus*. Cæsar calls him *Crastinus*.

"the victory is ours. It will be a glorious one; and this "day I shall have your praise either alive or dead." So saying, he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of an hundred and twenty men. He did great execution among the first ranks, and was pressing on with equal fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force in his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons, to surround Cæsar's right wing: But before they could begin the attack*, the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind, came up boldly to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempted to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at their eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received: For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger, as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause: For the cohorts which had beaten them off, surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, soon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat, as the consequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word, and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the

* Cæsar says, they did engage his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. *Bell. Civil.* lib. iii.

troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out, "What! into my camp too?" Without uttering one word more, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his escape privately. What misfortunes befel him afterwards, how he put himself in the hands of the Egyptians, and was assassinated by the traitors, we have related at large in his life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then dispatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have; to this "cruel necessity they reduced me: For had Cæsar dis-"missed his troops, after so many great and successful "wars, he would have been condemned as a criminal." Asinius Pollio tells us, Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and that he afterwards expressed the sense of them in Greek. He adds, that most of those who were killed, at the taking of the camp, were slaves, and that there fell not in the battle above six thousand soldiers*. Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry that were taken prisoners; and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who afterwards killed him, was of the number. It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Among the many signs that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable. There was a statue of Cæsar in the temple of Victory; and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, it is said that a palm-tree sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. At Padua, Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, was observing the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharsalia was fought. By this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those that were by, "The great affair now "draws to a decision; the two generals are engaged." Then he made another observation, and the signs appeared so clear to him, that he leaped up in the most enthusias-

* Cæsar says there fell about fifteen thousand of the enemy, and that he took above twenty-four thousand prisoners; and that on his side, the loss amounted only to about two hundred private soldiers, and thirty centurions.

tic manner, and cried out, "Cæsar, thou art the con-
"queror." As the company stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred fillet from his head, and swore, "He "would never put it on again, till the event had put his "art beyond question." Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege on the Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables, and he discharged the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated, and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with great abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it, he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours, and took them into his own service. He wrote to his friends at Rome, "That the chief enjoyment he "had of his victory was, in saving every day one or other "of his fellow-citizens, who had borne arms against "him."

As for his Egyptian war, some assert that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel, which proved both prejudicial to his reputation, and dangerous to his person. Others accuse the king's ministers, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greatest influence at court, and who, having taken off Pompey, and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Cæsar. Hence it is said, that Cæsar began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends, for the greater security of his person. The behaviour, indeed of this eunuch in public, all he said and did with respect to Cæsar, was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn he supplied his soldiers with, was old and musty, and he told them, "They ought to be satisfied with it, since they lived at "other people's cost." He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on pretence that Cæsar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt: For the father of the reigning prince owed Cæsar seventeen million five hundred thousand *drachmas*. Cæsar

had formerly remitted to his children the rest, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, instead of paying the money, advised him to go and finish the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he should have his money with thanks: But Cæsar told him, "He had no need of "Egyptian counsellors," and privately sent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princess, taking only one friend, Apollodorus the Sicilian, with her, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening made for the palace. As she saw it difficult to enter it undiscovered, she rolled herself up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæsar. This stratagem of hers, which was a strong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is said to have first opened her the way to Cæsar's heart; and the conquests advanced so fast, by the charms of her conversation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and insisted that she should reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occasion; when a servant of Cæsar's, who was his barber, a timorous and suspicious man, led by his natural caution to inquire into every thing, and to listen every where about the palace, found that Achillas the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting against Cæsar's life. Cæsar being informed of their design, planted his guards about the hall and killed Photinus: But Achillas escaped to the army, and involved Cæsar in a very difficult and dangerous war; for with a few troops he had to make head against a great city, and a powerful army.

The first difficulty he met with *, was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter †. The second was, the loss of his ships in harbour, which he was forced to burn himself, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames unfortunately spreading from the dock to the palace,

* He was in great danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himself master of Alexandria. *Cæs. Bell. Civil.* lib. iii. *sub finem.*

† They also contrived to raise the sea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæsar's reservoirs and cisterns; but Cæsar ordered wells to be dug, and in a night's time, got a sufficient quantity of fresh water. Vide *Cæs. Bell. Alex.*

burnt the great Alexandrian library. The third* was in the sea-fight near the Isle of Pharos, when seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the Mole into a little skiff, to go to their assistance. The Egyptians making up on all sides, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty reached his galleys by swimming†. Having several valuable papers, which he was not willing either to lose or to wet, it is said he held them above water with one hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sunk soon after he left it. At last the king joined the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar opportunity to establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after she had a son by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæsario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Asia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, pursuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himself master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia, against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and dispatch with which he gained his victory, he made use only of three words‡, "I came, I saw, "I conquered." Their having all the same form and termination in the Roman language, adds grace to their conciseness.

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, as the year of his second dictatorship, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was declared consul for the year ensuing.

* First there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæsar attacked the Island, and, last of all, the Mole. It was in this last attack he was under the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

† His first intention was to gain the Admiral galley; but finding it very hard pressed, he made for the others; and it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley soon went to the bottom.

‡ *Veni, vidi, vici.*

But it was a blot in his character that he did not punish his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Cosconius and Galba, men of prætorian dignity, in any severer manner than by calling them citizens*, instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he gave each of them a thousand *drachmas* notwithstanding, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius †, who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were very disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it and disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make use of such ministers.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army with the assistance of king Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry war into their quarters, and in order to it, first crossed over to Sicily, thought it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almost within the wash of the sea; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with three thousand foot and a small body of horse ‡. After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was,

* But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion which had mutinied at Capua, and afterwards marched with great insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge they demanded, which so humbled them, that they begged to be taken again into his service; and he did not admit of it without much seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

† It was Antony, not Cornificius, who got the forfeiture of Pompey's house; as appears from the life of Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic. Therefore, there is probably a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber.

‡ He embarked six legions, and two thousand horse; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed with at first; many of the ships having been separated by a storm.

"That the race of Scipio would be always victorious, in "Africa." And, as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, as if he had been really general. There were frequent occasions of this kind; for he was often forced to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horses. He was obliged to give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it to make it go down. The thing that laid him under a necessity of having recourse to this expedient, was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do they diverted themselves with an African who danced and played upon the flute with great perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæsar himself, and Asinius Pollio come to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement the enemy had the advantage again; on which occasion it was that Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, "Look on this side for "the enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar, with incredible dispatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable, by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of the opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of

the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to save himself by flight. Thus, in a small part of one day, he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of fifty men.

Such is the account some give us of the action: Others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army, and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them being afterwards taken, dispatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conqueror hastened to Utica*, which Cato had the charge of, and for that reason was not in the battle: But by the way he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou "enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life." Nevertheless, by the book which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not seem as if he had any intentions of favour to him before: For how can it be thought he would have spared the living enemy, when he poured so much venom afterwards upon his grave? Yet, from his clemency to Cicero, to Brutus, and others without number, who had borne arms against him, it is conjectured, that the book was not written with a spirit of rancour, but of political ambition; for it was composed on such an occasion. Cicero had written an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of *Cato* to the book. It was highly esteemed by many of the Romans, as might be expected, as well from the superior eloquence of the author, as the dignity of the subject. Cæsar was piqued at the success of a work, which, in praising a man who had killed himself to avoid falling into his hands, he thought insinuated something to the dis-

* Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, soon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about a hundred years. Two years after, they were both repeopled with Roman colonies.

advantage of his character. He therefore wrote an answer to it, which he called *Anticato*, and which contained a variety of charges against that great man. Both books have still their friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæsar or of Cato predominates.

Cæsar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them, he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into the public stores two hundred thousand Attic* measures of wheat, and three million of pounds of oil. After this, he led up his several triumphs, over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa†. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thousand tables, and presented them with a numerous show of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When those exhibitions were over‡, an account was taken of the citizens, who, from three hundred and twenty

* *Medimni.* See the table of weights and measures.

† Plutarch either forgot to make mention of the triumph over Gaul, which was the most considerable, or else τον Κελτικον has dropt out of the text.

‡ Ruauld takes notice of three great mistakes in this passage. The first is, where it is said that Cæsar took a *census* of the people. Suetonius does not mention it, and Augustus himself, in the *Marmora Ancyrana*, says, that in his sixth consulate, that is, in the year of Rome 725, he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The second is, that, before the civil wars broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is asserted, that, in less than three years, those three hundred and twenty thousand were reduced, by that war, to a hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that a little while after, Cæsar made a draught of eighty thousand, to be sent to foreign colonies. But, what is still stronger, eighteen years after Augustus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty-three thousand, as Suetonius assures us. From a passage in the same author (Life of Cæsar, chap. iv.) these mistakes of Plutarch took their rise. Suetonius there says, *Recensum populi nec more*

thousand, were reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand: So fatal a calamity was the civil war, and such a number of the people did it take off, to say nothing of the misfortunes it brought upon the rest of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This business done, he was elected consul the fourth time; and the first thing he undertook, was to march into Spain against the sons of Pompey, who, though young, had assembled a numerous army, and showed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war, was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæsar at first saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance, that he ran through the ranks, amidst the swords and spears, crying, "Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the "hands of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced, at last made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thousand of them slain, whereas Cæsar lost only a thousand, but those were some of the best men he had. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He had often fought for victory, but "that was the first time he had fought for his life."

He won this battle on the day of the *Liberalia* *, which was the same day that Pompey the Great marched out, four years before. The younger of Pompey's sons made his escape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Cæsar.

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph on account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other step he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals, or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and destroying the race of one of the greatest men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at last unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and re-

nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit: atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit. Suetonius speaks there of the citizens, who shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and, probably, because he perceived that distribution answered in many only the purposes of idleness, he reduced the number to a hundred and twenty thousand. Plutarch mistook *recensunt* for *censum;* and this error led him into the other mistakes.

* The seventeenth of March.

joicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because, before this, he had never sent any messenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and submitting to the bridle, because they saw no other respite from intestine wars and miseries, but the taking one man for their master, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for to absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed, contended with each other which should make him the most extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and unsupportable even to persons of candour. His enemies are supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause, to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough, because in other respects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It seems as if there was nothing unreasonable in their ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæsar: For he not only pardoned most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them he bestowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Cassius for instance; for they were both prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture; he erected them again: On which occasion Cicero said, "That Cæsar, by rearing Pompey's statues, "had established his own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it: For, he said, "It was better to die once, than to "live always in fear of death." He esteemed the affection of the people the most honourable and the safest guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did the soldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies. The most noted places that he colonized, were Carthage and Corinth; of which it is

remarkable, that as they were both taken and demolished at the same time, so they were at the same time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or, if they were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all he opened the prospects of hope; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people. For this reason he was so studious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died suddenly towards the close of his consulship, he appointed Caninus Rebilius* consul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their respects to him, according to custom, and to conduct him to the senate-house; on which occasion Cicero said, "Let us make haste and pay our compli-"ments to the consul, before his office is expired."

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the many actions he had performed, by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired; they rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a jealousy of himself, a contest with himself (as eager as if it had been with another man) to make his future achievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations for war against the Parthians. After he had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus, to enter Scythia; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itself; and then to return by Gaul to Rome: Thus finishing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the Ocean on every side.

During the preparations for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus†. He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly

* Macrobius calls him *Rebilus*.

† Ανιηνον επι τυτο προχειρισαμενος. The Latin and French translators join this with the sentence that follows, and render it, "He "designed also to unite the Anio and the Tiber, and convey them "by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi," &c. But against

from Rome to Circæi, and so into the sea near Tarracina, for the convenience as well as security of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public spirited work that he meditated, was to drain all the marshes by Nomentum* and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of hands in tillage. He proposed farther to raise banks on the shore nearest Rome, to prevent the sea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Ostian shore of its secret and dangerous obstructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many vessels that came in there. These things were designed, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the kalendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time†, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals and days of sacrifice, by little and little, fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution; but even in the times of Cæsar, when the solar year was made use of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the priests, who were the only persons that knew any thing about it, used to add all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month, called *Mercidonius*, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extensively enough, to correct the great miscomputations of time; as we have observed in that prince's life:

the construction there is this strong objection, that the Anio falls into the Tiber above Rome. In Greek, too, that river would be Ανιων, not Ανιηνος. And if we admit of that construction, what could be made of Ανιηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος; which would literally be, *having previously fitted the Anio to that purpose.*

On the other hand it may be alleged, that possibly Plutarch might not know where the conflux of the Anio and the Tiber was, though, with respect to a man who had lived some time at Rome, it is scarce an admissible supposition. And we must acknowledge, that we have not any where else met with *Anienus* as a Roman name. Suetonius takes no notice of Cæsar's intention to make this cut.

* It appears from a passage in Suetonius, Vit. *Cæs.* c. 44. *Siccare Pomptinas paludes*, as well as from another in Strabo, *Ed. Par.* l. v. p. 231. C. D. that for *Nomentum* we should here read *Pomentium.*

† Through means of that erroneous computation, the Roman kalendar had gained near three months in the time of Cæsar. Before this, endeavours had been used to correct the irregularity, but it never could be done with exactness. See the life of Numa.

Cæsar having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still go by, and by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power: For Cicero (if I mistake not) when some one happened to say, "*Lyra* will rise to-morrow," answered, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict for it:" As if the kalender was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, was his passion for the title of king. It was the first thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plausible plea. Those who wanted to procure him that honour, gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "That Rome could never conquer the "Parthians, except they went to war under the conduct "of a king." And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba to Rome, some of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing that the people were troubled at this strange compliment, he put on an air of resentment, and said, "He was not called king, but Cæsar." Upon this, a deep silence ensued, and he passed on in no good humour.

Another time the senate having decreed him some extravagant honours, the consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. When they came, he did not rise to receive them, but kept his seat, as if they had been persons in a private station, and his answer to their address was, "That there was more need to retrench his honours, "than to enlarge them." This haughtiness gave pain not only to the senate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected dishonour upon the whole commonwealth; for all who could decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the false step he had taken, he retired immediately to his own house; and laying his neck bare, told his friends, "He was ready for the first hand that would "strike." He then bethought himself of alleging his distemper as an excuse; and asserted, that those who are

under its influence, are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they speak standing; a trembling and giddiness coming upon them, which bereaves them of their senses. This, however, was not really the case; for it is said, he was desirous to rise to the senate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had servility enough to say, "Will you not remember "that you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay their court "to you as their superior?"

These discontents were greatly increased by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lupercalia*, which, according to most writers, is an ancient pastoral feast, and which answers in many respects to the *Lycæa* amongst the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magistrates, run about the streets naked, and, by way of diversion, strike all they meet with leathern thongs with the hair upon them. Numbers of women of the first quality put themselves in the way, and present their hands for stripes (as scholars do to a master), being persuaded that the pregnant gain an easy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæsar wore a triumphal robe that day, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the *rostra*, to see the ceremony.

Antony ran among the rest, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was consul. When he came into the *forum*, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this some plaudits were heard, but very feeble, because they proceeded only from persons placed there on purpose. Cæsar refused it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony presented it once more, and few applauded his officiousness; but when Cæsar rejected it again, the applause again was general. Cæsar, undeceived by his second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the Capitol.

A few days after, his statues were seen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They also found out the persons who first saluted Cæsar king, and committed them to prison. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them *Brutusses*, because Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the senate and people. Cæsar, highly

incensed at their behaviour, deposed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as insult to the people, called them several times *Brutes* and *Cumæans**.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's side, was supposed to be a descendant of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also nephew and son-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the most honourable prætorship, and he had named him for the consulship four years after, in preference to Cassius, who was his competitor. On which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius assigns the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conspiracy was formed; but, instead of listening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and said, "Brutus will wait for this skin:" Intimating, that, though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those, however, who were desirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at least; and as they durst not speak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and seat which he used as prætor, mostly in these terms: "Thou sleepest Brutus;" or, "Thou art not Brutus."

Cassius perceiving his friend's ambition a little stimulated by these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him on to the great enterprise; for he had a particu-

* One thing which Strabo mentions as an instance of the supidity of the Cumæans, namely their not laying any duty upon merchandise, imported into their harbour, seems to be a very equivocal proof of it: For their leaving the port free, might bring them trade, and make them a flourishing people. Another thing which he mentions (though it is scarce worth repeating) is, that they had mortgaged their porticos, and, upon failure of payment of the money, were prohibited by their creditors from walking under them; but at last, when some heavy rains came on, public notice was given by the creditors, that their debtors would be indulged that favour. Hence he tells us that saying, "The Cumæans have not sense to get under shelter when it rains, till they are put in mind of it by the crier."

lar enmity against Cæsar, for the reasons which we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Cæsar, too, had some suspicions of him, and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale "looks." Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and government, he said, "I have no apprehensions from those "fat and sleek men; I rather fear the pale and lean "ones;"" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It seems, from this instance, that fate is not so secret as it is inevitable: For we are told, there were strong signs and presages of the death of Cæsar. As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises* heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the *forum*, perhaps they deserve not our notice in so great an event as this. But some attention should be given to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other; such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be burnt, yet, when it was over, he found no harm; and one of the victims which Cæsar offered was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature can exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the senate-house, he called to the soothsayer, and said laughing, "The ides of "March are come;" to which he answered, softly, "Yes: "but they are not gone,"

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed, according to custom, a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, "What kind of death was the best?" and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "A sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed, by moonshine, Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken words

* With some of the manuscripts, we read ΚΤΥΠΟΥΣ νυκτωρ πολλαχου διαφερομενους. If the common reading ΤΥΠΟΥΣ κ. τ. λ. be preferred, the sense will be, *the spectres seen swimming about in the night.*

and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she held him, murdered, in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the pinnacle* was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the senate had ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, by way of ornament and distinction; and that it was the fall of it which she lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate; and, if he paid no regard to her dreams, to have recourse to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, any thing of the weakness or superstition of her sex, though she was now so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them, he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the mean time, Decius Brutus†, surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence, that he had appointed him his second heir, yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day the affair might be discovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if, by such a slight, he gave the senate an occassion of complaint against him: "For they were met," he said, "at his summons, "and came prepared with one voice to honour him with "the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that he "should wear the diadem both by land and sea every "where out of Italy. But if any one go and tell them, "now they have taken their places, they must go home "again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have "better dreams, what room will your enemies have to "launch out against you? Or who will hear your friends "when they attempt to show, that this is not an open servitude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other?—If "you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, "it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you

* The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with some statues of their gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device.

† Plutarch finding a *D* prefixed to Brutus, took it for *Decius*; but his name was *Decimus Brutus*. See *Appian* and *Suetonius*.

" have strong reasons for putting off business till another " time." So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

He was not gone far from the door, when a slave, who belonged to some other person, attempted to get up to speak to him, but finding it impossible, by reason of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the house, and putting himself into the hands of Calpurnia, desired her to keep him safe till Cæsar's return, because he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with some of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of most of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to discover. Observing that he gave the papers, as fast as he received them, to his officers, he got up as close as possible, and said, "Cæsar, read this to yourself, " and quickly; for it contains matters of great conse- " quence, and of the last concern to you." He took it and attempted several times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the house. Some say it was delivered to him by another man*, Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

These things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of that tragedy, there was a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the statue of Pompey, and secretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous occasion, it seems, overruled his former sentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthusiasm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a man of great strength, was held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up be-

* By Caius Trebonius. So Plutarch says in the Life of Brutus; Appian says the same; and Cicero too, in his second Philippic.

hind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metillius Cimber*, for the recal of his brother from exile. They continued their instances till he came to his seat. When he was seated, he gave them a positive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber†, then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous; for in the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise he was probably in some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Casca! what dost thou mean?" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "Brother, help!"

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy were seized with consternation and horror, insomuch that they durst neither fly, nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that whatever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a taste of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood: So that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three-and-twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæsar thus dispatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but

* *Metillius* is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him *Cimber Tullius*. In Appian he is named *Antilius Cimber*, and there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be spurious. Some call him Metellus Cimber; and others suppose we should read M. Tullius Cimber.

† Here in the original it is Metillius again.

they could not bear to hear him; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses; others left their shops and counters. All were in motion: One was running to see the spectacle; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themselves in other people's houses. Meantime Brutus and his confederates yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body with their bloody swords in their hands, from the senate-house to the Capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them, and mingled with their train; desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity; being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar: So that they gained not even the honour for which they lost their lives; for nobody believed that they had any part in the enterprise; and they were punished, not for the deed, but for the will.

Next day Brutus, and the rest of the conspirators came down from the Capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse, without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done: But by their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, at the same time that they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty; and to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship; while on Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable: So that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly established again, and all brought into the best order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the *forum*, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds: They stopt the procession, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burnt the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to burn the houses of the assassins, while others ranged the city, to find the conspirators themselves, and tear them

in pieces; but they had taken such care to secure themselves, that they could not meet with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar's, had a strange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæsar invited him to supper, and, upon his refusal to go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him it spite of all the resistance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæsar was to be burnt in the *forum*, he went to assist in doing him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked, "Who that was?" and having learned his name, told it his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæsar's murderers; and indeed one of the conspirators was named Cinna. The multitude taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces upon the spot. Brutus and Cassius were so terrified at this rage of the populace, that, a few days after they left the city. An account of their subsequent actions, sufferings, and death, may be found in the Life of Brutus.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six, and did not survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts he gained it at last: But he reaped no other fruit from it, than an empty and invidious title. It is true, the Divine Power which conducted him through life, attended him after his death, as his avenger, pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land, and rested not till there was not a man left, either of those who dipt their hands in his blood, or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

The most remarkable of natural events relative to this affair, was, that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar; and the most signal phenomenon in the heavens, was that of a great comet*,

* "A comet made its appearance in the north, while we were "celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar, and shone bright for "seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of the day, and was "seen by all nations. It was commonly believed to be a sign that "the soul of Cæsar was admitted among the gods; for which reason we added a star to the head of his statue, consecrated soon "after in the *forum*." *Fragm. Aug. Cæs. ap. Plin.* l. ii. c. 25.

which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre; for his orb looked pale all that year; he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its usual strength. The air, of course, was dark and heavy for want of that vigorous heat which clears and rarefies it; and the fruits were so crude and unconcocted, that they pined away and decayed, through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this: Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war; for it was natural to him to watch great part of the night, and no general ever required so little sleep. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burnt very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first he was struck with astonishment; but when he saw it neither did nor spoke any thing to him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it, "Who it was?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see "me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll meet "thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but seeing all lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend, as they tell us, assisting the thrust, he died upon the spot*.

* Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The life he has written is a confused jumble of facts, snatched from different historians, without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and mi-

PHOCION.

DEMADES the orator, by studying in his whole administration to please the Macedonians and Antipater, had great authority in Athens. When he found himself by that complaisance often obliged to propose laws and make speeches injurious to the dignity and virtue of his country, he used to say, " He was excusable, because he " came to the helm when the commonwealth was no more " than a wreck." This assertion, which in him was unwarrantable, was true enough when applied to the administration of Phocion. Demades was the very man who wrecked his country: He pursued such a vicious plan, both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater scrupled not to say of him when he was grown old, " That he was " like a sacrificed beast, all consumed except his tongue " and his paunch*." But the virtue of Phocion found a strong and powerful adversary in the times, and its glory was obscured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. For Virtue is not so weak as Sophocles would make her, nor is the sentiment just which he puts in the mouth of one of the persons of his drama,

> —The firmest mind will fail
> Beneath misfortune's stroke, and, stunn'd depart
> From its sage plan of action†.

nuter traits, which, as he elsewhere justly observes, distinguish and characterise the man more than his most popular and splendid operations. He has written the life of Cæsar like a man under restraint; has skimmed over his actions, and shown a manifest satisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself, in the narrative of other lives. Yet, from the little light he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other historians, we may easily discover that Cæsar was a man of great and distinguished virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing that openness of mind which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the last prevailing passion would not have blinded him so far as to put so early a period to his race of glory.

* The tongue and the paunch were not burnt with the rest of the victim. The paunch used to be stuffed and served up at table, and the tongue was burnt on the altar, at the end of the entertainment, in honour of Mercury, and had libations poured upon it. Of this there are many examples in Homer's Odyssey.

† Sophoc. Antig. l. 569, and 570.

All the advantage that Fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the good and virtuous, is the bringing upon them unjust reproach and censure, instead of the honour and esteem which are their due, and by that means lessening the confidence the world would have in their virtue.

It is imagined, indeed, that when affairs prosper, the people, elated with their strength and success, behave with great insolence to good ministers; but it is the very reverse: Misfortunes always sour their temper; the least thing will then disturb them; they take fire at trifles; and they are impatient of the least severity of expression. He who reproves their faults, seems to reproach them with their misfortunes, and every bold and free address is considered as an insult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member smart, so it often happens, that a remonstrance, though pregnant with truth and sense, hurts and irritates the distressed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expresses such things as are pleasant, by the word *menoikes*, which signifies what is *symphonious to the mind*, what sooths its weakness, and bears not hard upon its inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark brown colours, and avoid such as are bright and glaring. So it is with a state, in any series of ill-conducted and unprosperous measures; such is the feeble and relaxed condition of its nerves, that it cannot bear the least alarm; the voice of truth, which brings its faults to its remembrance, gives it inexpressible pain, though not only salutary, but necessary; and it will not be heard, except its harshness is modified. It is a difficult task to govern such a people; for, if the man who tells them the truth, falls the first sacrifice, he who flatters them, at last perishes with them.

The mathematicians say, the sun does not move in the same direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite opposite, but circulating with a gentle and almost insensible obliquity, gives the whole system such a temperature as tends to its preservation. So in a system of government, if a statesman is determined to describe a straight line, and in all things to go against the inclinations of the people, such rigour must make his administration odious; and, on the other hand, if he suffers himself to be carried along with their most erroneous motions, the government will soon be in a tottering and ruinous state. The latter

is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle course, sometimes slackening the reins, and sometimes keeping a tighter hand, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only measures that are formed upon rational principles: for a well-timed condescension and moderate treatment will bring men to concur in many useful schemes, which they could not be brought into by despotism and violence. It must be acknowledged, that this medium is difficult to hit upon, because it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleness; but when the just temperature is gained, it presents the happiest and most perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this sublime harmony the Supreme Being governs the world; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands, and though his influence is irresistible, it is rational and mild.

The effects of austerity were seen in the younger Cato. There was nothing engaging or popular in his behaviour; he never studied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the administration was not great. Cicero says, "He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of "Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and by that means "fell short of the consulate*." His case appears to me to have been the same with that of fruit which comes out of season: people look upon it with pleasure and admiration, but they make no use of it. Thus the old-fashioned virtue of Cato, making its appearance amidst the luxury and corruption which time had introduced, had all the splendour of reputation which such a phenomenon could claim, but it did not answer the exigencies of the state; it was disproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for use. Indeed his circumstances were not altogether like those of Phocion, who came not into the administration till the state was sinking†; whereas Cato had only to save the ship beating about in the storm. At the same time we must allow that he had not the principal direction of her; he sat not at the helm; he could do no

* The passage here referred to is in the first epistle of Cicero's second book to Atticus. But we find nothing there of the repulse Cato met with in his application for the consulship. That repulse, indeed, did not happen till eight years after the date of that epistle.

† Our author means, that uncommon and extraordinary efforts were more necessary to save the poor remains of a wreck, than to keep a ship, yet whole and entire, from sinking.

more than help to hand the sails and the tackle. Yet he maintained a noble conflict with Fortune, who having determined to ruin the commonwealth, effected it by a variety of hands, but with great difficulty, by slow steps and gradual advances: So near was Rome being saved by Cato, and Cato's virtue! With it we would compare that of Phocion: not in a general manner, so as to say they were both persons of integrity, and able statesmen; for there is a difference between valour and valour, for instance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; the prudence of Themistocles and that of Aristides were not the same; justice was of one kind in Numa, and in Agesilaus of another: but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the same in the most minute particular; their impression, form and colour, are perfectly similar. Thus their severity of manners was equally tempered with humanity and their valour with caution; they had the same solicitude for others, and disregard for themselves; the same abhorrence of every thing base and dishonourable, and the same firm attachment to justice on all occasions: so that it requires a very delicate expression, like the finely discriminated sounds of the organ*, to mark the difference in their characters.

It is universally agreed, that Cato was of an illustrious pedigree, which we shall give some account of in his life;

* Ως τε λεπτυ παυυ λογυ δεισθαι, καθαπερ οργανυ προς διοκρισιν και ανευρεσιν των διαφεροντων.

The organ here mentioned was probably that invented by Ctesibius, who, according to Athenæus, placed in the temple of Zephyrus, at Alexandria, a tube, which, collecting air by the appulsive motion of water, emitted musical sounds, either by their strength adapted to war, or by their lightness to festivity. Hedylus, in his elegies, mentions this organ under the title of Κερας.

Ζωροποται καὶ τυτο φιλον ζεφυρυ μετα νηον,
Θρεπτον μεν βασιλευς εισεθεσεν το κερας.
Σαλπιζον λυγιας τυ κρονυ προς ῥυσιν ἠχυς
Δεινυ καὶ πολεμυ συνθεμα καὶ θαλιης.

Thus we see this instrument was capable of great variety and discrimination of harmony. Claudian has left us the following description of this water organ:

Et qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu,
Innumeras voces segetis moderatur ahenæ.
Intonat errante digito, penitusque trabali
Vecte laborantes in carmina concitat undas.

Cornelius Severus says, *Ejus fuit generis qui aquarum assultu auram conciperet.* But its *innumeræ voces*, as Claudian calls them, its variety of expression, is undoubtedly the reason why Plutarch mentions it here.

and we conjecture, that Phocion's was not mean or obscure: For, had he been the son of a turner, it would certainly have been mentioned by Glaucippus, the son of Hyperides, among a thousand other things, in the treatise which he wrote on purpose to disparage him. Nor, if his birth had been so low, would he have had so good an education, or such a liberal mind and manners. It is certain, that, when very young, he was in tuition with Plato, and afterwards with Xenocrates in the academy; and from the very first he distinguished himself by his strong application to the most valuable studies. Duris tells us, the Athenians never saw him either laugh or cry, or make use of a public bath, or put his hand from under his cloak when he was dressed to appear in public. If he made an excursion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always barefooted, and without his upper garment too, except it happened to be intolerably cold; and then his soldiers used to laugh, and say, "It is a sign of a sharp winter; "Phocion has got his clothes on."

He was one of the most humane and best tempered men in the world, and yet he had so ill-natured and forbidding a look, that strangers were afraid to address him without company. Therefore, when Chares, the orator, observed to the Athenians, what terrible brows Phocion had, and they could not help making themselves merry, he said, "This brow of mine never gave one of you an hour of "sorrow; but the laughter of these sneerers has cost their "country many a tear." In like manner, though the measures he proposed were happy ones, and his counsels of the most salutary kind, yet he used no flowers of rhetoric; his speeches were concise, commanding, and severe: For, as Zeno says, that a philosopher should never let a word come out of his mouth that is not strongly tinctured with sense; so Phocion's oratory contained the most sense in the fewest words. And it seems that Polyeuctus the Sphettian had this in view when he said, "Demosthenes "was the better orator, and Phocion the more persuasive "speaker." His speeches were to be estimated like coins, not for the size, but for the intrinsic value. Agreeably to which, we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people, Phocion was observed behind the scenes wrapt up in thought, when one of his friends took occasion to say, "What! at your meditations, Phocion?" "Yes," said he, "I am considering whether I cannot

" shorten what I have to say to the Athenians." And Demosthenes, who despised the other orators, when Phocion got up, used to say softly to his friends, " Here " comes the pruner of my periods." But perhaps this is to be ascribed to the excellence of his character, since a word or a nod from a person revered for his virtue, is of more weight than the most elaborate speeches of other men.

In his youth he served under Chabrias, then commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained much military knowledge by him. In some degree too he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven: For that general, though at other times scarce any thing could move him, in time of action was violent, and exposed his person with a boldness ungoverned by discretion. At last it cost him his life, when he made it a point to get in before the other galleys to the Isle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of sword. Phocion, whose prudence was equal to his courage, animated him when he was too slow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act coolly when he was unseasonably violent. This gained him the affection of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he assigned him commissions and enterprises of great importance, which raised him to the notice of the Greeks: Particularly in the sea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head the squadron on the left, where the action was hottest, had a fine opportunity to distinguish himself, and he made such use of it, that victory soon declared for the Athenians; and as this was the first victory they had gained at sea, in a dispute with Greeks, since the taking of their city, they expressed the highest regard for Chabrias, and began to consider Phocion as a person in whom they should one day find an able commander. This battle was won during the celebration of the great mysteries; and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the sixteenth day of September.

Some time after this, Chabrias sent Phocion to the islands, to demand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty sail. But Phocion said, " If you send " me against enemies, such a fleet is too small: if to " friends, one ship is sufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and by addressing himself to the cities and magistrates in an open and humane manner, he succeeded

so well, as to return with a number of ships which the allies fitted out, and at the same time put their respective quotas of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but after his death, continued his attentions to all that belonged to him. With his son Ctesippus, he took peculiar care to form him to virtue; and though he found him very stupid and untractable, yet he still laboured to correct his errors, as well as to conceal them. Once, indeed, his patience failed him: In one of his expeditions the young man was so troublesome with unseasonable questions, and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the general, that at last he cried out, " O Chabrias, Chabrias! " what a return do I make thee for thy favours, in bear- " ing with the impertinencies of thy son!"

He observed, that those who took upon them the management of public affairs, made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they shared as it were by lot. Pursuant to this division, Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, addressed the people from the rostrum, and proposed new edicts; while Diophites, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, raised themselves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion chose rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators, but as generals; for he thought their fame more complete; each of these great men (to use the words of Archilochus) appearing justly to claim

The palms of Mars, and laurels of the muse:

and he knew that the tutelar goddess of Athens was equally the patroness of arts and arms.

Formed upon these models, peace and tranquillity were the great objects he had always in view; yet he was engaged in more wars than any person, either of his own or of the preceding times: Not that he counted, or even applied for the command; but he did not decline it, when called to that honour by his country. It is certain, he was elected general no less than five-and-forty times, without once attending to the election; being always appointed in his absence, at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of shallow understanding were surprised that the people should set such a value on Phocion, who generally op-

posed their inclinations, and never said or did any thing with a view to recommend himself. For, as princes divert themselves at their meals with buffoons and jesters, so the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable address of their orators by way of entertainment only; but when the question was concerning so important a business as the command of their forces, they returned to sober and serious thinking, and selected the wisest citizen, and the man of the severest manners, who had combated their capricious humours and desires the most. This he scrupled not to avow: For one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the assembly, importing, "That the rest of the "Athenians were unanimous in their opinions, and that "there was only one man who dissented from them," Phocion stepped up and told them, "They need not give "themselves any trouble in inquiring for this refractory "citizen, for he was the man who liked not any thing "they did." And another time in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with universal applause, he turned to his friends, and said, "Have I inadvertently let some bad thing slip from me?"

The Athenians were one day making a collection, to defray the charge of a public sacrifice, and numbers gave liberally. Phocion was importuned to contribute among the rest; but he bade them apply to the rich: "I should "be ashamed," said he, "to give you any thing, and not "to pay this man what I owe him;" pointing to the usurer Callicles. And as they continued very clamorous and teazing, he told them this tale: "A cowardly fellow once resolved to make a campaign; but when he "was set out, the ravens began to croak, and he laid "down his arms and stopped. When the first alarm was "a little over, he marched again: The ravens renewed "their croaking, and then he made a full stop, and said, "You may croak your hearts out if you please, but you "shall not taste my carcase."

The Athenians once insisted on his leading them against the enemy, and when he refused, they told him, nothing could be more dastardly and spiritless than his behaviour, He answered, "You can neither make me valiant, nor "can I make you cowards: However, we know one "another very well."

Public affairs happening to be in a dangerous situation, the people were greatly exasperated against him, and de-

manded an immediate account of his conduct: Upon which, he only said, "My good friends, first get out of "your difficulties."

During a war, however, they were generally humble and submissive, and it was not till after peace was made that they began to talk in a vaunting manner, and to find fault with their general. As they were one time telling Phocion, he had robbed them of the victory which was in their hands, he said, "It is happy for you that you have "a general who knows you; otherwise you would have "been ruined long ago."

Having a difference with the Bœotians, which they refused to settle by treaty, and proposed to decide by the sword, Phocion said, "Good people, keep to the method "in which you have the advantage; and that is talking, "not fighting."

One day, determined not to follow his advice, they refused to give him the hearing: But he said, "Though "you can make me act against my judgment, you shall "never make me speak so."

Demosthenes, one of the orators of the adverse party, happening to say, "The Athenians will certainly kill thee, "Phocion, some time or other:" he answered, "They "may kill *me*, if they are mad; but it will be *you*, if they "are in their senses."

When Polyeuctus, the Sphettian, advised the Athenians to make war upon Philip, the weather being hot, and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath, and perspired so violently, that he was forced to take several draughts of cold water, before he could finish his speech. Phocion, seeing him in such a condition, thus addressed the assembly—"You have great reason to pass an edict for "the war, upon this man's recommendation: For what "are you not to expect from him, when, loaded with a suit "of armour, he marches against the enemy, if in deli-"vering to you (peaceable folks) a speech which he had "composed at his leisure, he is ready to be suffocated?"

Lycurgus, the orator, one day said many disparaging things of him in the general assembly, and, among the rest, observed, that when Alexander demanded ten of their orators*, Phocion gave it as his opinion, that they

* For πολιτων we should here read πολιτικων, as, a little above, we should read πολιτικων instead of πολιτων. That they were orators, which Alexander demanded, appears from Demosthenes, p. 430.

should be delivered to him. "It is true," said Phocion, "I have given the people of Athens much good counsel, "but they do not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of Laconistes, by letting his beard grow long, in the Lacedæmonian manner, wearing a threadbare cloak, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his assertions much contradicted in the assembly, called upon this man to support the truth and rectitude of what he had said. Archibiades, however, ranged himself on the people's side, and advised what he thought agreeable to them. Then Phocion, taking him by the beard, said, "What is all this heap of hair for? Cut it, "cut it off."

Aristogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and pressed them much to declare war: But when the lists came to be made out of those that were to serve, this swaggerer had got his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion, as he sat upon the business, seeing him at some distance in this form, called out to his secretary, "to put down Aristogi-"ton a cripple and a coward."

All these sayings have something so severe in them, that it seems strange that a man of such austere and unpopular manners, should ever get the surname of the *Good*. It is, indeed, difficult, but, I believe, not impossible, for the same man to be both rough and gentle, as some wines are both sweet and sour: and on the other hand, some men who have a great appearance of gentleness in their temper, are very harsh and vexatious to those who have to do with them. In this case, the saying of Hyperides to the people of Athens, deserves notice: "Examine not whe-"ther I am severe upon you, but whether I am so for my "own sake:" As if it were avarice only that makes a minister odious to the people, and the abuse of power to the purposes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge, did not make a man equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himself against any man in his private capacity, or considered him as an enemy; but he was inflexibly severe against every man who opposed his motions and designs for the public good. His behaviour, in other respects, was liberal, benevolent, and humane; the unfortunate he was always ready to assist,

and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends one day finding fault with him for appearing in behalf of a man whose conduct did not deserve it; he said, "The good had no need of an ad-"vocate." Aristogiton, the informer, being condemned and committed to prison, begged the favour of Phocion to go and speak to him, and he hearkened to his application. His friends dissuaded him from it, but he said, "Let "me alone, good people: Where can one rather wish to "speak to Aristogiton than in a prison?"

When the Athenians sent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and islands in alliance with that people, looked upon every such commander as an enemy; they strengthened their walls, shut up their harbours, and conveyed the cattle, the slaves, the women, and children, out of the country into the cities: But when Phocion had the command, the same people went out to meet him in their own ships, with chaplets on their heads, and every expression of joy, and in that manner conducted him into their cities.

Philip endeavoured privately to get footing in Eubœa, and for that purpose sent in forces from Macedon as well as practised upon the towns by means of the petty princes. Hereupon, Plutarch of Eretria called in the Athenians, and entreated them to rescue the island out of the hands of the Macedonians: In consequence of which, they sent Phocion at first with a small body of troops, expecting that the Eubœans would immediately rise and join him: But when he came, he found nothing among them but treasonable designs and disaffection to their own country, for they were corrupted by Philip's money. For this reason he seized an eminence * separated from the plains of Tamynæ by a deep defile, and in that post he secured the best of his troops. As for the disorderly, the talkative, and cowardly part of the soldiers, if they attempted to desert and steal out of the camp, he ordered the officers to let them go: "For," said he, "if they stay here, "such is their want of discipline, that, instead of being "serviceable they will be prejudicial in time of action; "and, as they will be conscious to themselves of flying

* Instead of αποκρυπτομενον here in the text, we should read ατοκεκομμενον. So says Du Soul: But we think αποκυπτομενον, *sloping* or *sloped*, which is nearer the text, is more likely to be the true reading

"from their colours, we shall not have so much noise and "calumny from them in Athens."

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to stand to their arms, but not attempt any thing till he had made an end of his sacrifice: And, whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not easily find the auspicious tokens, or was desirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. Meanwhile Plutarch, imagining that this delay was owing to his fear and irresolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries; and the cavalry seeing him in motion, could wait no longer, but advanced against the enemy, though in a scattered and disorderly manner, as they happened to issue out of the camp. The first line being soon broken, all the rest dispersed, and Plutarch himself fled. A detachment from the enemy then attacked the intrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, supposing that the fate of the day was decided: But at that instant Phocion had finished his sacrifice, and the Athenians sallying out of the camp, fell upon the assailants, routed them, and cut most of them in pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main body directions to keep their ground, in order to receive and cover such as were dispersed in the first attack, while he, with a select party, went and charged the enemy. A sharp conflict ensued, both sides behaving with great spirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus the son of Cineas, and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, who fought near the general's person, distinguished themselves the most. Cleophanes, too, did great service in the action; for he rallied the cavalry, and brought them up again, by calling after them, and insisting that they should come to the assistance of their general, who was in danger. They returned, therefore, to the charge; and, by the assistance which they gave the infantry, secured the victory.

Phocion, after the battle, drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himself master of Zaretra, a fort advantageously situated where the island draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each side by the sea. He did not choose, in pursuance of his victory, to take the Greeks prisoners, lest the Athenians, influenced by their orators, should, in the first motions of resentment, pass some unequitable sentence upon them.

After this great success, he sailed back to Athens. The allies soon found the want of his goodness and justice, and

the Athenians saw his capacity and courage in a clear light: For Molossus, who succeeded him, conducted the war so ill, as to fall himself into the enemy's hands. Philip, now rising in his designs and hopes, marched to the Hellespont with all his forces, in order to seize at once on the Chersonesus, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to send succours to that quarter, the orators prevailed upon them to give that commission to Chares. Accordingly he sailed to those parts, but did nothing worthy of such a force as he was entrusted with. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but, suspected by all, he beat about, raising contributions where he could upon the allies, and at the same time was despised by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other side, exasperated the people to such a degree, that they repented of having sent any succours to the Byzantians. Then Phocian rose up, and told them, "They should not be angry at the suspicions of the allies, "but at their own generals, who deserved not to have any "confidence placed in them: For, on their account," said he, "you are looked upon with an eye of jealousy, by the "very people who cannot be saved without your assist-"ance." This argument had such an effect on them, that they changed their minds again, and bade Phocion go himself with another armament to the succour of the allies upon the Hellespont.

This contributed more than any thing to the saving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation was already great: Besides, Cleon, a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf. The Byzantians would then no longer let him encamp without, but opening their gates, received him into their city, and mixed familiarly with the Athenians; who, charmed with this confidence, were not only easy with respect to provisions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themselves with great spirit in every action. By these means Philip was forced to retire from the Hellespont, and he suffered not a little in his military reputation, for till then he had been deemed invincible. Phocion took some of his ships, and recovered several cities which he had garrisoned; and making descents in various parts of his territories, he harassed and ravaged the flat country. But at last, hap-

pening to be wounded by a party that made head against him, he weighed anchor, and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarensians applied to him privately for assistance; and as he was afraid the matter would get air, and the Bœotians would prevent him, he assembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no sooner given their sanction to the proposal, than he ordered the trumpets to sound as a signal for them to arm; after which he marched immediately to Megara, where he was received with great joy. The first thing he did was to fortify Nisæa, and to build two good walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a safe communication with the sea, and having now little to fear from the enemy on the land side, was secured in the Athenian interest.

The Athenians being now clearly in a state of hostility with Philip, the conduct of the war was committed to other generals in the absence of Phocion. But, on his return from the islands, he represented to the people, that as Philip was peaceably disposed, and apprehensive of the issue of the war, it was best to accept the conditions he had offered. And when one of those public barreters, who spend their whole time in the court of Heliaca, and make it their business to form impeachments, opposed him, and said, "Dare you, Phocion, pretend to dissuade the "Athenians from war, now the sword is drawn?" "Yes," said he, "I dare; though I know thou wouldst be in my "power in time of war, and I shall be in thine in time "of peace." Demosthenes, however, carried it against him for war; which he advised the Athenians to make at the greatest distance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occasion to say, "My good friend, consider not "so much where we shall fight, as how we shall conquer: "For victory is the only thing that can keep the war at a "distance. If we are beaten, every danger will soon be "at our gates."

The Athenians did lose the day; after which the most factious and troublesome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the hustings, and insisted that he should have the command. This alarmed the real well-wishers to their country so much, that they called in the members of the Areopagus to their assistance; and it was not without many tears and the most earnest entreaties, that they pre-

vailed upon the assembly to put their concerns in the hands of Phocion.

He was of opinion, that the other proposals of Philip should be readily accepted, because they seemed to be dictated by humanity; but when Demades moved that Athens should be comprehended in the general peace, and, as one of the states of Greece, should have the same terms with the other cities, Phocion said, "It ought not to be agreed "to, till it was known what conditions Philip required." The times were against him, however, and he was overruled. And when he saw the Athenians repented afterwards, because they found themselves obliged to furnish Philip both with ships of war and cavalry, he said, "This was the "thing I feared; and my opposition was founded upon it: "But since you have signed the treaty, you must bear its "inconveniencies without murmuring or dispondence; "remembering that your ancestors sometimes gave law to "their neighbours and sometimes were forced to submit, "but did both with honour; and by that means saved "themselves and all Greece."

When the news of Philip's death was brought to Athens, he would not suffer any sacrifices or rejoicings to be made on that account. "Nothing," said he, "could show great-"er meanness of spirit, than expressions of joy on the "death of an enemy. What great reason, indeed, is "there for it, when the army you fought with at Che-"ronæa is lessened only by one man?"

Demosthenes gave into invectives against Alexander when he was marching against Thebes; the ill policy of which Phocion easily perceived, and said,

> "What boots the godlike giant to provoke,
> "Whose arm may sink us at a single stroke*?"
>
> *Pope, Odyss.* ix.

"When you see such a dreadful fire near you, would you "plunge Athens into it? For my part, I will not suffer "you to ruin yourselves, though your inclinations lie that "way; and to prevent every step of that kind is the end I "proposed in taking the command."

When Alexander had destroyed Thebes, he sent to the Athenians, and demanded that they should deliver up to

* These words are addressed to Ulysses by his companions, to restrain him from provoking the giant Polyphemus, after they were escaped out of his cave, and got on board their ship.

him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus. The whole assembly cast their eyes on Phocion, and called upon him often by name. At last he rose up; and placing him by one of his friends, who had the greatest share in his confidence and affection, he expressed himself as follows: "The persons whom Alexander demands "have brought the commonwealth into such miserable "circumstances, that if he demanded even my friend "Nicocles, I should vote for delivering him up. For my "own part, I should think it the greatest happiness to die "for you all. At the same time, I am not without com-"passion for the poor Thebans who have taken refuge "here; but it is enough for Greece to weep for Thebes, "without weeping for Athens too. The best measure, "then, we can take, is, to intercede with the conqueror "for both, and by no means to think of fighting."

The first decree drawn up in consequence of these deliberations, Alexander is said to have rejected, and to have turned his back upon the deputies: but the second he received, because it was brought by Phocion, who, as his old counsellors informed him, stood high in the esteem of his father Philip. He therefore not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his request, but even listened to his counsel. Phocion advised him, "If tranquillity was "his object, to put an end to his wars; if glory, to leave "the Greeks in quiet, and turn his arms against the bar-"barians." In the course of their conference he made many observations so agreeable to Alexander's disposition and sentiments, that his resentment against the Athenians was perfectly appeased, and he was pleased to say, "The "people of Athens must be very attentive to the affairs of "Greece; for, if any thing happens to me, the supreme "direction will devolve upon them." With Phocion in particular he entered into obligations of friendship and hospitality, and did him greater honours than most of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris tells us, that after that prince was risen to superior greatness, by the conquest of Darius, and had left out the word *chairein*, the common form of salutation, in his address to others, he still retained it in writing to Phocion, and nobody besides, except Antipater. Chares asserts the same.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he sent him a hundred talents. When the money was brought to Athens, Phocion asked the persons employed in that com-

mission, "Why, among all the citizens of Athens, he "should be singled out as the object of such bounty?" "Because," said they, "Alexander looks upon you as the "only honest and good man." "Then," said Phocion, "let "him permit me always to retain that character, as well as "really to be that man." The envoys then went home with him, and when they saw the frugality that reigned there, his wife baking bread, himself drawing water, and afterwards washing his own feet, they urged him the more to receive the present. They told him, "It gave them real "uneasiness, and was indeed an intolerable thing, that the "friend of so great a prince should live in such a wretch-"ed manner." At that instant, a poor old man happening to pass by, in a mean garment, Phocion asked the envoys, "Whether they thought worse of him, than of that "man?" As they begged of him not to make such a comparison, he rejoined, "Yet that man lives upon less "than I do, and is contented. In one word, it will be to "no purpose for me to have so much money, if I do not "use it; and if I was to live up to it, I should bring both "myself and the king, your master, under the censure "of the Athenians." Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole transaction was a good lesson to the Greeks, *That the man who did not want such a sum of money, was richer than he who could bestow it.*

Displeased at the refusal of his present, Alexander wrote to Phocion, "That he could not number those among his "friends, who would not receive his favours." Yet Phocion even then would not take the money. However, he desired the king to set at liberty Echecratides the sophist, and Athenodorus the Iberian, as also Demaratus and Sparto, two Rhodians, who were taken up for certain crimes, and kept in custody at Sardis. Alexander granted his request immediately; and afterwards, when he sent Craterus into Macedonia, ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of these four cities in Asia, Cios, Gergithus, Mylassa, or Elæa. At the same time he was to assure him, that the king would be much more disobliged, if he refused this second offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died soon after.

Phocion's house is shown to this day in the borough of Melita, adorned with some plates of copper, but otherwise plain and homely.

Of his first wife we have no account, except that she was sister to Cephisodotus the statuary. The other was a matron, no less celebrated among the Athenians for her modesty, prudence, and simplicity of manners, than Phocion himself was for his probity. It happened one day, when some new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players who was to personate the queen, demanded a suitable mask (and attire), together with a large train of attendants, richly dressed; and, as all these things were not granted him, he was out of humour, and refused to make his appearance; by which means the whole business of the theatre was at a stand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, pushed him in, and said, "Thou seest the wife of Phocion appear in "public with one maid-servant only, and doest thou come "here to show thy pride, and to spoil our women?" As Melanthius spoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he had said with a thunder of applause. When this second wife of Phocion entertained in her house an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady showed her her bracelets and necklaces, which had all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them: Upon which the good matron said, "Phocion is my ornament, who is "now called the twentieth time to the command of the "Athenian armies."

The son of Phocion was ambitious of trying his skill in the games of the *panathenæa**, and his father permitted him to make the trial, on condition that it was in the foot races: not that he set any value upon the victory, but he did it that the preparations and previous exercises might be of service to him; for the young man was of a disorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance desired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houses; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the house, he saw every thing prepared in the most extravagant manner, and, among the rest, that wine mingled with spices was provided for washing the feet of the guests. He therefore called his son to him, and said, "Phocus, why do you suffer your friend thus to sully "the honour of your victory†?"

* See the life of Theseus.

† The victory was obtained by means of abstemiousness and laborious exercise, to which such indulgences were quite contrary.

In order to correct in his son entirely that inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedæmon, and put him among the young men who were brought up in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, because it showed in what contempt he held the manners and customs of his own country. Demades one day said to him, "Why do not we, Phocion, persuade the people to adopt the Spartan form of government? If you chose it, I will propose a decree for it, and support it in the best manner I am able." "Yes indeed," said Phocion, "it would become you much, with all those perfumes about you, and that pride of dress, to launch out in praise of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonian frugality."

Alexander wrote to the Athenians for a supply of ships, and the orators opposing it, the senate asked Phocion his opinion. "I am of opinion," said he, "that you should either have the sharpest sword, or keep upon good terms with those who have."

Pytheas the orator, when he first began to speak in public, had a torrent of words and the most consummate assurance: Upon which Phocion said, "Is it for thee to prate so, who art but a novice amongst us?"

When Harpalus had traitorously carried off Alexander's treasures from Babylon, and came with them from Asia to Attica, a number of the mercenary orators flocked to him, in hopes of sharing in the spoil. He gave these some small taste of his wealth, but to Phocion he sent no less than seven hundred talents; assuring him at the same time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him into his protection. But his messengers found a disagreeable reception: Phocion told them, that "Harpalus should repent it, if he continued thus to corrupt the city." And the traitor, dejected at his disappointment, stopped his hand. A few days after a general assembly being held on this affair, he found that the men who had taken his money, in order to exculpate themselves, accused him to the people; while Phocion, who would accept of nothing, was inclined to serve him, as far as might be consistent with the public good. Harpalus, therefore, paid his court to him again, and took every method to shake his integrity, but he found the fortress on all sides impregnable. Afterwards he applied to Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, and his success with him gave just cause

of offence; for all the world saw how intimate he was with him, and that all his business went through his hands. Upon the death of his mistress Pythionice, who had brought him a daughter, he even employed Charicles to get a superb monument build for her, and for that purpose furnished him with vast sums. This commission, dishonourable enough in itself, became more so by the manner in which he acquitted himself of it: For the monument is still to be seen at Hermos, on the road between Athens and Eleusis; and there appears nothing in it answerable to the charge of thirty talents, which was the account that Charicles brought in*. After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion took his daughter under their guardianship, and educated her with great care. At last, Charicles was called to account by the public for the money he had received of Harpalus; and he desired Phocion to support him with his interest, and to appear with him in the court: But Phocian answered, "I made you my son-in-law only for just and honourable purposes."

The first person that brought the news of Alexander's death, was Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus. Demades desired the people to give no credit to it: "For," said he, "if Alexander were dead, the whole world would smell "the carcase." And Phocion seeing the Athenians elated, and inclined to raise new commotions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators, however, ascended the rostrum, assured the people, that the tidings of Asclepiades were true: "Well then," said Phocion, "if Alexander is dead to-day, he will be so to-morrow and the "day following; so that we may deliberate on that event "at our leisure, and take our measures with safety."

When Leosthenes, by his intrigues had involved Athens in the Lamian war†, and saw how much Phocion was displeased at it, he asked him in a scoffing manner, "What "good he had done his country, during the many years

* Yet Pausanias says, it was one of the completest and most curious performances of all the ancient works in Greece. According to him, it stood on the other side of the river Cephisus.

† In the original it is the *Grecian* war; and might, indeed, be so called, because it was carried on by the Grecian confederates against the Macedonians. But it was commonly called the *Lamian* war, from Antipater's being defeated, and shut up in Lamia. The Bœotians were the only nation which did not join the Grecian league. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. xviii.

"that he was general?" "And dost thou think it nothing, "then," said Phocion, "for the Athenians to be buried in "the sepulchres of their ancestors?" As Leosthenes continued to harangue the people in the most arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion said, "Young man, your "speeches are like cypress trees, large and lofty, but "without fruit." Hyperides rose up and said, "Tell us "then, what will be the proper time for the Athenians "to go to war?" Phocion answered, "I do not think "it advisable, till the young men keep within the bounds "of order and propriety, the rich become liberal in their "contributions, and the orators forbear robbing the pub-"lic."

Most people admired the forces raised by Leosthenes; and when they asked Phocion his opinion of them, he said, "I like them very well for a short race*, but I "dread the consequence of a long one. The supplies, the "ships, the soldiers, are all very good; but they are the "last we can produce." The event justified his observation. Leosthenes at first gained great reputation by his achievements; for he defeated the Bœotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this occasion the Athenians, borne upon the tide of hope, spent their time in mutual entertainments, and in sacrifices to the gods. Many of them thought, too, they had a fine opportunity to play upon Phocion, and asked him, "Whether he should not have wished to have done such "great things?" "Certainly I should," said Phocion; "but still I should advise not to have attempted them." And when letters and messengers from the army came one after another, with an account of farther success, he said, "When shall we have done conquering?"

Leosthenes died soon after; and the party which was for continuing the war, fearing that if Phocion was elected general, he would be for putting an end to it, instructed a man that was little known, to make a motion in the assembly, importing, "That, as an old friend and school-"fellow of Phocion, he desired the people to spare him, "and preserve him for the most pressing occasions, be-

* Or rather, "I think they may run very well from the starting "post to the extremity of the course: But I know not how they "will hold it back again." The Greeks had two sorts of races; the *stadium*, in which they ran only right out to the goal; and the *dolichus*, in which they ran right out, and then back again.

" cause there was not another man in their dominions to " be compared to him." At the same time he was to recommend Antiphilus for the command. The Athenians embracing the proposal, Phocion stood up and told them, " He never was that man's school-fellow, nor had he any " acquaintance with him: but from this moment," said he turning to him, " I shall number thee amongst my best " friends, since thou hast advised what is most agreeable " to me."

The Athenians were strongly inclined to prosecute the war with the Bœotians, and Phocion at first as strongly opposed it. His friends represented to him, that this violent opposition of his would provoke them to put him to death. " They may do it, if they please," said he: " It " will be unjustly, if I advise them for the best; but justly, " if I should prevaricate." However, when he saw that they were not to be persuaded, and that they continued to besiege him with clamour, he ordered a herald to make proclamation, " That all the Athenians, who were not " more than sixty years above the age of puberty, should " take five days provisions, and follow him immediately " from the assembly to the field*."

This raised a great tumult, and the old men began to exclaim against the order, and to walk off: Upon which Phocion said, " Does this disturb you, when I, who am " fourscore years old, shall be at the head of you?" That short remonstrance had its effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micion marched a considerable corps of Macedonians and mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the sea-coast and the adjacent country, Phocion advanced against him with a body of Athenians. On this occasion a number of them were very impertinent in pretending to dictate or advise him how to proceed. One counselled him to secure such an eminence, another to send his cavalry to such a post, and a third pointed out a place for a camp. " Heavens!" said Phocion, " how many generals we " have, and how few soldiers!"

* Τους αχρι εξηκοντα ετων αφ' ηβης has commonly been understood to mean *from fourteen to sixty;* but it appears from the following passage, that it should be understood as we have rendered it. Ὁ γαρ Αγησιλαος ὡς ετη τεσσαρακοντα γεγονως αφ' ηβης, και στρατειας εχειν αφεσιν ὑπο των νομων.

Vit. Ages. in Ed. Bryan. vol. iii. p. 396.

When he had drawn up his army, one of the infantry advanced before the ranks; but when he saw an enemy stepping out to meet him, his heart failed him, and he drew back to his post: Whereupon Phocion said, "Young "man, are not you ashamed to desert your station twice "in one day; that in which I had placed you, and that "in which you have placed yourself?" Then he immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers, among whom was their general Micion. The confederate army of the Greeks in Thessaly, likewise defeated Antipater in a great battle*, though Leonatus and the Macedonians from Asia had joined him. In this action Antiphilus commanded the foot, and Menon the Thessalian horse: Leonatus was among the slain.

Soon after this, Craterus passed over from Asia with a numerous army, and another battle was fought, in which the Greeks were worsted. The loss, indeed, was not great; and it was principally owing to the disobedience of the soldiers, who had young officers that did not exert a proper authority. But this, joined to the practice of Antipater upon the cities, made the Greeks desert the league, and shamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched directly towards Athens, Demosthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able, in any degree, to answer the fines that had been laid upon him; for he had been amerced seven times for proposing edicts contrary to law. He had also been declared infamous, and incapable of speaking in the assembly: But now finding himself at full liberty, he moved for an order that ambassadors should be sent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their present situation, called for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man they could trust: Upon which he said, "If you had followed the counsel I gave "you, we should not have had now to deliberate on such

* There is a most egregious error here in the former English version. The translator makes Phocion fight the Greeks, his own confederates, in Thessaly. Το δε Ἑλληνικον εν Θετταλια στρατευμα, συμμιξαντος Αντιπατρω Λεονατυ, και των εξ Ασιας Μακεδονων, ενικα μαχομενον. This he renders, *Afterwards he defeated the Grecian army that lay in Thessaly, wherein Leonatus had joined himself with Antipater and the Macedonians that newly came out of Asia.* Thus *Phocion* is mistaken for the nominative case to ενικα, whereas Ἑλληνικον στρατευμα is plainly the nominative.

" an affair." Thus the decree passed, and Phocion was dispatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in Cadmea*, and was preparing to enter Attica.

His first requisition was, that Antipater would finish the treaty before he left the camp in which he then lay. Craterus said, it was an unreasonable demand; that they should remain there to be troublesome to their friends and allies, when they might subsist at the expense of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the hand, and said, " Let " us indulge Phocion so far." As to the conditions, he insisted that the Athenians should leave them to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leosthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, which they agreed to out of necessity; and then returned to Thebes, with other ambassadors; the principal of whom was Xenocrates the philosopher: For the virtue and reputation of the latter were so great and illustrious, that the Athenians thought there could be nothing in human nature so insolent, savage, and ferocious, as not to feel some impressions of respect and reverence at the sight of him. It happened, however, otherwise with Antipater, through his extreme brutality and antipathy to virtue; for he embraced the rest with great cordiality, but would not even speak to Xenocrates, which gave him occasion to say, " Antipater does well in being ashamed before me, " and me only, of his injurious designs against Athens."

Xenocrates afterwards attempted to speak, but Antipater, in great anger, interrupted him, and would not suffer him to proceed†. To Phocion's discourse, however, he gave attention; and answered, that he should grant the Athenians peace, and consider them as his friends, on the

* Dacier, without any necessity, supposes that Plutarch uses the word *Cadmea* for Bœotia. In a poetical way it is, indeed, capable of being understood so; but it is plain from what follows, that Antipater then lay at Thebes, and probably in the Cadmea or citadel.

† Yet he had behaved to him with great kindness, when he was sent to ransom the prisoners. Antipater, on that occasion, took the first opportunity to invite him to supper; and Xenocrates answered in those verses of Homer, which Ulysses addressed to Circe, who pressed him to partake of the delicacies she had provided—

Ill fits it me, whose friends are sunk to beasts,
To quaff thy bowls, and riot in thy feasts.
Me wouldst thou please? For them thy cares employ;
And them to me restore, and me to joy.

Antipater was so charmed with the happy application of these verses, that he released all the prisoners.

following conditions: "In the first place," said he, "they "must deliver up to me Demosthenes and Hyperides. In "the next place, they must put their government on the "ancient footing, when none but the rich were advanced "to the great offices of state: A third article is, that they "must receive a garrison into Munychia: And a fourth, "that they must pay the expenses of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themselves happy in these conditions. That philosopher said, "Antipater deals favourably with us, if he considers us as "slaves; but hardly, if he looks upon us as freemen." Phocion begged for a remission of the article of the garrison; and Antipater is said to have answered, "Phocion, "we will grant thee every thing, except what would be "the ruin of both us and thee." Others say, that Antipater asked Phocion, "Whether, if he excused the Athenians as to the garrison, he would undertake for their "observing the other articles, and raising no new commotions?" As Phocion hesitated at this question, Callimedon, surnamed Carabus, a violent man, and an enemy to popular government, started up and said, "Antipater, "why do you suffer this man to amuse you? If he should "give you his word, would you depend upon it, and not "abide by your first resolutions?"

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was commanded by Menyllus, a man of great moderation, and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to be dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuse of power to the purposes of insolence, than a measure necessary for the conqueror's affairs *. It was more severely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time the garrison entered; which was the twentieth of the month September†, when they were celebrating the great mysteries, and the very day that they carried the god Bacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. The disturbances they saw in the ceremonies gave many of the people occasion to reflect on the difference of the divine dispensations with respect to Athens in the present and in

* Our author in this place seems to be out in his politics, though in general a very able and refined politician: For what but a garrison could have supported an oligarchy among a nation so much in love with popular government, or have restrained them from taking up arms the first opportunity?

† Broedromion.

ancient times. "Formerly," said they, "mystic visions "were seen, and voices heard, to the great happiness of "the republic, and the terror and astonishment of our "enemies: But now, during the same ceremonies, the "gods look without concern upon the severest misfortunes "that can happen to Greece, and suffer the holiest, and "what was once the most agreeable time in the year, to "be profaned, and rendered the date of our greatest ca-"lamities."

A few days before, the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona, which warned them to secure the promontories of Diana against strangers *. And about this time, upon washing the sacred fillets with which they bind the mystic beds, instead of the lively purple they used to have, they changed to a faint dead colour. What added to the wonder was, that all the linen belonging to private persons, which was washed in the same water, retained its former lustre. And as a priest was washing a pig in that part of the port called *Cantharus* †, a large fish seized the hinder parts, and devoured them as far as the belly; by which the gods plainly announced, that they would lose the lower parts of the city next the sea, and keep the upper.

The garrison commanded by Menyllus did no sort of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded, by another article of the treaty, on account of their poverty, from a share in the government, was upwards of twelve thousand. Such of these as remained in Athens, appeared to be in a state of misery and disgrace; and such as migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, assigned them by Antipater, looked upon themselves as no better than a conquered people transported into a foreign country.

The death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at Cleonæ, of which we have given an account in another place, made the Athenians remember Alexander and Philip with a regret which seemed almost inspired by

* Supposed to be poetically so called, because mountainous places and forests were sacred to that goddess. At least we know of no promontories in Attica under that name.

† In the text it is εν καθαρω λιμενι, *in a clean part of the harbour.* But we choose to receive the correction which Florent. Christian has given us in his notes upon Aristophanes's comedy called *Peace.* There were three havens in the Piræus, the principal of which was called *Cantharus.* The passage in Aristophanes is this:—

Εν πειραιω δη πόστι κανθαρε λιμην.

affection*. The case was the same with them now, as it was with the countryman afterwards upon the death of Antigonus. Those who killed that prince, and reigned in his stead, were so oppressive and tyrannical, that a Phrygian peasant, who was digging the ground, being asked what he was seeking, said, with a sigh, "I am seeking for Antigonus." Many of the Athenians expressed equal concern, now, when they remembered the great and generous turn of mind in those kings, and how easily their anger was appeased: Whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the mask of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to those under his command; and, in fact, an oppressor and a tyrant. Yet, at the request of Phocion, he recalled many persons from exile; and to such as he did not choose to restore to their own country, granted a commodious situation; for, instead of being forced to reside, like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tænarus, he suffered them to remain in Greece, and settle in Peloponnesus. Of this number was Agnonides the informer.

In some other instances he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a just and candid manner; raising the modest and the good to the principal employments; and excluding the uneasy and the seditious from all offices; so that having no opportunity to excite troubles, the spirit of faction died away; and he taught them by little and little to love the country, and apply themselves to agriculture. Observing one day that Xenocrates paid a tax as a stranger, he offered to make him a present of his freedom; but he refused it, and assigned this reason—"I will never be a member of that government, to prevent the establishment of which I acted in a public character."

Menyllus was pleased to offer Phocion a considerable sum of money: But he said, "Neither is Menyllus a greater man than Alexander; nor have I greater reason to receive a present now than I had then." The governor pressed him to take it at least for his son Phocus; but he answered, "If Phocus becomes sober, his father's

* The cruel disposition of Antipater, who had insisted upon Demosthenes and Hyperides being given up to his revenge, made the conduct of Philip and Alexander comparatively amiable.

" estate will be sufficient for him; and if he continues " dissolute, nothing will be so." He gave Antipater a more severe answer, when he wanted him to do something inconsistent with his probity: " Antipater," said he, " cannot have me both for a friend and a flatterer." And Antipater himself used to say, " I have two friends in " Athens, Phocion and Demades; it is impossible either " to persuade the one to any thing, or to satisfy the " other." Indeed, Phocion had his poverty to show as a proof of his virtue; for, though he so often commanded the Athenian armies, and was honoured with the friendship of so many kings, he grew old in indigence; whereas Demades paraded with his wealth even in instances that were contrary to law: For there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner should appear in the choruses upon the stage, under the penalty of a thousand *drachmas*, to be paid by the person who gave the entertainment: Yet Demades, in his exhibition, produced none but foreigners; and he paid the thousand *drachmas* fine for each, though their number was a hundred. And when his son Demea was married, he said, " When I married your mother, the " next neighbour hardly knew it; but kings and princes " contribute to the expense of your nuptials."

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to persuade Antipater to withdraw the garrison; but whether it was that he despaired of success, or rather because he perceived that the people were more sober and submissive to government, under fear of that rod, he always declined the commission. The only thing that he asked and obtained of Antipater was, that the money which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, should not be insisted on immediately, but a longer term granted. The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not meddle with the affair of the garrison, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In consequence of this, he and his son took a journey to Macedonia. It should seem, his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived just at the time when Antipater was in his last illness; and when Cassander, now absolute master of every thing, had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to come over and seize Greece and Macedonia, " which," he said, " hung only upon an old rotten " stalk;" so he contemptuously called Antipater. Cassander no sooner saw him, than he ordered him to be ar-

rested; and first he killed his son before his eyes, and so near, that the blood spouted upon him, and filled his bosom; then, after having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidiousness, he slew him likewise.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and given Cassander the command of a thousand men: But Cassander, far from being satisfied with such an appointment, hastened to seize the supreme power, and immediately sent Nicanor to take the command of the garrison from Menyllus, and to secure Munychia before the news of his father's death got abroad. This scheme was carried into execution; and, a few days after, the Athenians being informed of the death of Antipater, accused Phocion of being privy to that event, and concealing it out of friendship to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himself no pain about it; on the contrary, he conversed familiarly with Nicanor; and, by his assiduities, not only rendered him kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inspired him with an ambition to distinguish himself by exhibiting games and shows to the people.

Meantime Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's person was committed*, in order to countermine Cassander, wrote letters to the Athenians, importing, "That "the king restored them their ancient form of govern- "ment;" according to which, all the people had a right to public employments. This was a snare he laid for Phocion: For, being desirous of making himself master of Athens (as soon appeared from his actions), he was sensible that he could not effect any thing while Phocion was in the way. He saw, too, that his expulsion would be no difficult task, when all who had been excluded from a share in the administration were restored, and the orators and public informers were once more masters of the tribunals.

As these letters raised great commotions among the people, Nicanor was desired to speak† to them on that subject in the Piræus; and, for that purpose, entered their assembly, trusting his person with Phocion. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent country,

* The son of Alexander, who was yet very young.

† Nicanor knew that Polyperchon's proposal to restore the democracy was merely a snare, and he wanted to make the Athenians sensible of it.

laid a scheme to seize him; but Nicanor getting timely information of his design, guarded against it, and soon showed that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Phocion then was blamed for letting him go when he had him in his hands; but he answered, "He could confide "in Nicanor's promises, and saw no reason to suspect "him of any ill design. However," said he, "be the "issue what it may, I had rather be found suffering than "doing what is unjust."

This answer of his, if we examine it with respect to himself only, will appear to be entirely the result of fortitude and honour; but, when we consider that he hazarded the safety of his country, and, what is more, that he was general and first magistrate, I know not whether he did not violate a stronger and more respectable obligation. It is in vain to allege that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war; and for that reason would not seize the person of Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations of justice and good faith, that Nicanor, by a grateful sense of such behaviour, might be prevailed upon to be quiet, and think of no injurious attempt against the Athenians: For the truth is, he had such confidence in Nicanor, that when he had accounts brought him from several hands, of his designs upon the Piræus, of his ordering a body of mercenaries to Salamis, and of his bribing some of the inhabitants of the Piræus, he would give no credit to any of these things. Nay, when Philomedes, of the borough of Lampra, got an edict made, that all the Athenians should take up arms, and obey the orders of Phocion, he took no care to act in pursuance of it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piræus. Then Phocion would have led the Athenians against him; but by this time they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At that juncture arrived Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, with an army, under pretence of assisting the city against Nicanor; but, in reality, to avail himself of its fatal divisions, and to seize it if possible, for himself. For the exiles who entered the town with him, the foreigners, and such citizens as had been stigmatized as infamous, with other mean people, resorted to him, and all together made up a strange disorderly assembly, by whose suffrages the command was taken from Phocion,

and other generals appointed. Had not Alexander been seen alone near the walls, in conference with Nicanor, and by repeated interviews, given the Athenians cause of suspicion, the city could not have escaped the danger it was in. Immediately the orator Agnonides singled out Phocion, and accused him of treason; which so much alarmed Callimedon and Pericles *, that they fled out of the city. Phocion, with such of his friends as did not forsake him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Platæa, and Dinarchus of Corinth, who passed for the friends and confidents of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion, desired to be of the party. But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to stop many days at Elatea. In the mean time, Archestratus proposed a decree, and Agnonides got it passed, that deputies should be sent to Polyperchon, with an accusation against Phocion.

The two parties came up to Polyperchon at the same time, as he was upon his march with the king †, near Pharuges, a town of Phocis, situated at the foot of Mount Acroriam, now called Galate. There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each side of him; and, before he proceeded to any other business, gave orders that Dinarchus should be put to the torture, and afterwards dispatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience: But, as they filled the place with noise and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accusations to the council, Agnonides pressed forwards, and said, "Put us all in one cage, and send us back to Athens, "to give account of our conduct there." The king laughed at the proposal; but the Macedonians who attended on that occasion, and the strangers who were drawn thither by curiosity, were desirous of hearing the cause; and therefore made signs to the deputies to argue the matter there. However, it was far from being conducted with impartiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who at last was so provoked, that he struck his staff upon the ground, and would speak no more. Hegemon

* *Pericles* here looks like an erroneous reading. Afterwards we find not *Pericles*, but *Charicles*, mentioned along with Callimedon. Charicles was Phocion's son-in-law.

† This was Aridæus the natural son of Philip. After some of Alexander's generals had raised him to the throne for their own purposes, he took the name of Philip, and reigned six years and a few months.

said, Polyperchon himself could bear witness to his affectionate regard for the people; and that general answered, "Do you come here to slander me before the king?" Upon this the king started up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his spear; but Polyperchon prevented him; and the council broke up immediately.

The guards then surrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who, being at some distance, muffled themselves up and fled. Clitus carried the prisoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but, in reality, only to have them put to death, as persons already condemned. The manner of conducting the thing made it a more melancholy scene. The prisoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus shut them up till the *archons* had assembled the people. From this assembly neither slaves nor foreigners, nor persons stigmatized as infamous, were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. Then the king's letter was read; the purport of which was, "That he had "found the prisoners guilty of treason; but that he left "it to the Athenians, as freemen, who were to be go-"verned by their own laws, to pass sentence upon "them."

At the same time Clitus presented them to the people. The best of the citizens, when they saw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and covering their faces with their mantles, began to weep. One, however, had the courage to say, "Since the king leaves the determination of so im-"portant a matter to the people, it would be proper to "command all slaves and strangers to depart." But the populace, instead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It would be much more proper to stone all the favourers "of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which no one attempted to offer any thing in behalf of Phocion. It was with much difficulty that he obtained permission to speak. At last, silence being made, he said, "Do you design to take away my life justly, or unjustly?" Some of them answering, "Justly;" he said, "How can "you know whether it will be justly, if you do not hear me "first?" As he did not find them inclinable in the least to hear him, he advanced some paces forward, and said, "Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge I have done you "injustice; and for my faults in the administration, ad-

" judge myself guilty of death*; but why will you put " these men to death, who have never injured you?" The populace made answer, " Because they are friends to " you." Upon which he drew back, and resigned himself quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree he had prepared; according to which, the people were to declare by their suffrages, whether the prisoners appeared to be guilty or not; and if they appeared so, they were to suffer death. When the decree was read, some called for an additional clause for putting Phocion to the torture before execution; and insisted that the rack and its managers should be sent for immediately. But Agnonides observing that Clitus was displeased at that proposal, and looking upon it himself as a barbarous and detestable thing, said, " When we take that villain Callimedon, let us put him " to the torture; but, indeed, my fellow-citizens, I can- " not consent that Phocion should have such hard mea- " sure." Upon this, one of the better disposed Athenians cried out, " Thou art certainly right; for if we tor- " ture Phocion, what must we do to thee?" There was, however, hardly one negative when the sentence of death was proposed: All the people gave their voices standing; and some of them even crowned themselves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of festivity. With Phocion, there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others who were absent, the same sentence was passed upon them.

After the assembly was dismissed, the convicts were sent to prison. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all went on bewailing their fate, except Phocion. His countenance was the same as when the people sent him out to command their armies; and the beholders could not but admire his invincible firmness and magnanimity. Some of his enemies, indeed, reviled him as he went along; and one of them even spit in his face: Upon which, he turned to the magistrates, and said, " Will nobody correct this " fellow's rudeness?" Thudippus, when he saw the exe-

* It was the custom for the person accused, to lay some penalty on himself. Phocion chooses the highest, thinking it might be a means to reconcile the Athenians to his friends; but it had not that effect.

cutioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament what hard fortune it was for him to suffer unjustly on Phocion's account. "What, then!" said the venerable sage, "dost "thou not think it an honour to die with Phocion?" One of his friends asking him, whether he had any commands to his son? "Yes," said he, "by all means, tell "him from me, to forget the ill treatment I have had "from the Athenians." And when Nicocles, the most faithful of his friends, begged that he would let him drink the poison before him; "This," said he, "Nicocles, is a "hard request; and the thing must give me great un-"easiness: But since I have obliged you in every instance "through life, I will do the same in this."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved not sufficient; and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he had twelve *drachmas* paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this accasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said, "Since "one cannot die on free cost at Athens, give the man his "money." This execution was on the nineteenth day of *April**, when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads; others shed tears as they looked at the prison doors: All who had not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, looked upon it as a most impious thing, not to have reprieved them at least for that day, and so to have kept the city unpolluted on the festival.

However, the enemies of Phocion, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, got an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica; nor that any Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral pile: Therefore, no friend durst touch it; but one Conopion, who lived by such services, for a sum of money carried the corpse out of the territories of Eleusis, and got fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a *cenotaph* upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time she thus addressed the domestic gods: "Ye

* Munychion.

" guardians of this place, to you I commit the remains " of this good man. Do you restore them to the sepulchre " of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall once more " listen to the dictates of wisdom."

The time was not long before the situation of their affairs taught them how vigilant a magistrate, and how excellent a guardian of the virtues of justice and sobriety, they had lost. The people erected his statue in brass, and buried his remains at the public expense. Agnonides, his principal accuser, they put to death, in consequence of a decree for that purpose. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens; but afterwards fell into the hands of Phocion's son, who punished them as they deserved. This son of his was, in other respects, a worthless man. He was in love with a girl, who was in a state of servitude, and belonged to a trader in such matters; and happening one day to hear Theodorus the atheist maintain this argument in the Lyceum, " That if it is no " shame to ransom a friend, it is no shame to redeem a " mistress;" the discourse was so flattering to his passion, that he went immediately and released his female friend*.

The proceedings against Phocion put the Greeks in mind of those against Socrates. The treatment of both was equally unjust, and the calamities thence entailed upon Athens were perfectly similar†.

CATO THE YOUNGER.

THE family of Cato had its first lustre and distinction from his great-grandfather, Cato the Censor‡, a man whose virtue, as we have observed in his life, ranked him with persons of the greatest reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now speaking, was left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio, and

* It appears from the ancient comedy, that it was no uncommon thing for the young men of Athens to take their mistresses out of such shops; and, after they had released them from servitude, to marry them.

† Socrates was put to death eighty-two years before.

‡ Cato the Censor, at a very late period in life, married Salonia, daughter of his own steward. There was a family, however, from that second match, which flourished when that which came from the first was extinct.

his sister Porcia. He had also another sister called Servilia, but she was only sister by the mother's side*. The orphans were brought up in the house of Livius Drusus, their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the administration; to which he was entitled by his eloquence, his wisdom, and dignity of mind; excellencies that put him upon an equality with the best of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy discovered in his voice, his look, and his very diversions, a firmness and solidity, which neither passion nor any thing else could move. He pursued every object he had in view with a vigour far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those who were inclined to flatter were sure to meet with a severe repulse, and to those who attempted to intimidate him, he was still more untractable. Scarce any thing could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was softened to a smile. He was not quickly or easily moved to anger; but it was difficult to appease his resentment, when once excited.

His apprehension was slow, and his learning came with difficulty; but what he had once learned he long retained. It is, indeed, a common case for persons of quick parts to have weak memories, but what is gained with labour and application is always retained the longest: For every hard-gained acquisition of science, is a kind of annealing upon the mind†. The inflexibility of his disposition seems also to have retarded his progress in learning‡: For to learn is to submit to a new impression; and those submit the most easily who have the least power of resistance. Thus young men are more persuasible than the old, and the sick than such as are well; and, in general, assent is most easily gained from those who are least able to find doubts and difficulties. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was commanded; only he would always inquire the reason, and ask why such a thing was enjoined. Indeed, his preceptor

* Servilia was not his only sister by the mother's side; there were three of them; one, the mother of Brutus who killed Cæsar; another married to Lucullus: and a third to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, too, was his brother by the mother's side.

† Γινεται γαρ οιον εκκαυμα της ψυκης, των μαθηματων ἑκαστον.

‡ Δυσπιστον, *slow to believe*, is the common reading; but Δυσπειστον, in which we are warranted by some manuscripts, is more suitable to what follows.

Sarpedon (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who chose rather to govern by reason than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popedius Silo, a man of great name as a soldier, and powerful among his people, had a friendship with Drusus, and lodged a long time in his house during this application. As he was familiar with the children, he said to them one day, "Come, my good "children, desire your uncle to assist us in our solicitation "for the freedom." Cæpio smiled and readily gave his promise; but Cato made no answer. And as he was observed to look with a fixed and unkind eye upon the strangers, Popedius continued, "And you, my little man, "what do you say? Will not you give your guests your "interest with your uncle, as well as your brother?"—Cato still refusing to answer, and appearing by his silence and his looks inclined to deny the request, Popedius took him to the window, and threatened, if he would not promise, to throw him out. This he did in a harsh tone, and at the same time gave him several shakes, as if he was going to let him fall: But as the child bore this a long time without any marks of concern or fear, Popedius set him down, and said softly to his friends, "This child is the "glory of Italy. I verily believe if he were a man, that "we should not get one vote among the people."

Another time, when a relation invited young Cato, with other children, to celebrate his birth-day, most of the children went to play together in a corner of the house. Their play was to mimic a court of justice*, where some were accused in form, and afterwards carried to prison. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned, and shut up by a bigger boy, who acted as officer, in one of the apartments, called out to Cato; who, as soon as he understood what the matter was, ran to the door, and pushed away those who stood there as guards, and attempted to oppose him,

* Children's plays are often taken from what is most familiar to them. In other countries they are commonly formed upon trifling subjects, but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of justice, the command of armies, triumphal processions, and, in later times, the state of emperors. Suetonius tells us that Nero commanded his son-in-law, Rufinus Crispinus, the son of Popæa, a child, to be thrown into the sea, because he was said to delight in plays of the last mentioned kind.

carried off the child, and went home in great anger; most of the children marching off with him.

These things gained him great reputation, of which the following is an extraordinary instance: When Sylla chose to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of *Troy**, and is considered as a sacred exhibition, he selected two bands of young gentlemen, and assigned them two captains, one of which they readily accepted, on account of his being the son of Metella, the wife of Sylla; but the other, named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they absolutely rejected, and would not go out to exercise under him. Sylla then asked them, "Whom they would have?" they unanimously cried, "Cato;" and Sextus himself readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of superior parts.

The friendship which had subsisted between Sylla and the father of Cato, induced him sometimes to send for the young man and his brother Cæpio, and to talk familiarly with them; a favor, which, by reason of his dignity, he conferred on very few. Sarpedon thinking such an intercourse of great advantage to his scholar, both in point of honour and safety, often took Cato to pay his respects to the dictator. Sylla's house at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution; such were the numbers of people tortured and put to death there. Cato, who now was in his fourteenth year, seeing the heads of many illustrious personages carried out, and observing that the bystanders sighed in secret at these scenes of blood, asked his preceptor, "Why somebody did not kill that man?" "Because," said he, "they fear him more than they hate "him." "Why then," said Cato, "do not you give me "a sword, that I may kill him, and deliver my country "from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard such a speech from the boy, and saw with what a stern and angry look he uttered it, he was greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterwards, to prevent his attempting some rash action.

When he was but a child, he was asked one day, "Whom "he loved most?" and he answered, "His brother." The

* The invention of this game is generally ascribed to Ascanius. It was celebrated in the public *circus* by companies of boys, who were furnised with arms suitable to their strength. They were taken, for the most part, out of the noblest families in Rome. See an excellent description of it in Virgil, Æneid, ver. 545, &c.

person who put the question, then asked him, "Whom "he loved next?" and again he said, "His brother." "Whom in the third place?" and still it was "His bro- "ther:" And so on till he put no more quesions to him about it. This affection increased with his years, insomuch that when he was twenty years old, if he supped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the *forum*, Cæpio must be with him. But he would not make use of perfumes as Cæpio did; indeed, the whole course of his life was strict and austere: So that when Cæpio was sometimes commended for his temperance and sobriety, he would say, "I may have some claim to these virtues, when "compared with other men; but when I compare myself "with Cato, I seem a mere Sippius." Sippius was the name of a person remarkably effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had taken upon him the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his share of the paternal estate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But though his fortune was so considerable, his manner of living was more frugal and simple than ever. He formed a particular connection with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philosopher; and the knowledge he was the most studious of acquiring, was the moral and the political. He was carried to every virtue with an impulse like inspiration; but his greatest attachment was to justice, and justice of that severe and inflexible kind which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compassion*. He cultivated also that eloquence which is fit for popular assemblies; for as in a great city there should be an extraordinary supply for war, so in the political philosophy he thought there should be a provision for troublesome times. Yet he did not declaim before company, nor go to hear the exercises of other young men. And when one of his friends said, "Cato, the world finds fault with your silence:" He answered, "No matter, so long as it does not find fault with "my life: I shall begin to speak, when I have things to "say that deserve to be known."

In the public hall called the *Porcian*, which was built by old Cato in his censorship, the tribunes of the people

* Cicero, in his oration for Morena, gives us a fine satire upon those maxims of the Stoics which Cato made the rule of his life, and which, as he observes, were only fit to flourish within the portico.

used to hold their court; and as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they resolved either to remove it to a distance, or to take it entirely away. This was the first thing that drew Cato to the *rostra*, and even then it was against his inclination. However, he opposed the design effectually, and gave an admirable specimen, both of his eloquence and spirit: For there was nothing of youthful sallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, sensible, and strong. Nevertheless, amidst the short and solid turn of the sentences, there was a grace that engaged the ear; and with the gravity which might be expected from his manners, there was something of humour and raillery intermixed, which had an agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by such a multitude of people, and his strength was such, that he often spoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cause, he returned to his former studies and silence. To strengthen his constitution, he used the most laborious exercise. He accustomed himself to go bareheaded in the hottest and coldest weather, and travelled on foot at all seasons of the year. His friends who travelled with him, made use of horses, and he joined sometimes one, sometimes another for conversation, as he went along. In time of sickness, his patience and abstinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he spent the whole day alone, suffering no person to approach him, till he found a sensible change for the better.

At entertainments they threw the dice for the choice of the messes; and if Cato lost the first choice, his friends used to offer it him; but he always refused it; "Venus*," said he, "forbids." At first he used to rise from table after having drank once; but in process of time he came to love drinking, and would sometimes spend the whole night over the bottle. His friends excused him, by saying, "That the business of the state employed him all day, "and left him no time for conversation, and therefore he "spent his evenings in discourse with the philosophers." And when one Memmius said in company, "That Cato "spent whole nights in drinking," Cicero retorted, "But you cannot say that he spends whole days at play."

* The most favourable cast upon the dice was called *Venus*. Horace alludes to it, Ode vii. lib. 2.

Cato saw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and customs of his country, and for that reason he determined to go contrary to the corrupt fashions which then obtained. He observed, (for instance) that the richest and most lively purple was the thing most worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner barefooted and without his gown: Not that he affected to be talked of for that singularity; but he did it by way of learning to be ashamed of nothing but what was really shameful, and not to regard what depended only on the estimation of the world.

A great estate falling to him by the death of a cousin-german of the same name, he turned it into money, to the amount of a hundred talents; and when any of his friends wanted to borrow a sum, he lent it them without interest. If he could not otherwise supply them, he suffered even his own lands and slaves to be mortgaged for them to the treasury.

He knew no woman before his marriage; and when he thought himself of a proper age to enter into that state, he set a treaty on foot with Lepidia, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but, upon Scipio's breaking the engagement, was then at liberty. However, before the marriage could take place, Scipio repented; and by the assiduity of his management and address, succeeded with the lady. Provoked at this ill treatment, Cato was desirous to go to law for redress; and, as his friends overruled him in that respect, youthful resentment put him upon writing some *iambics* against Scipio, which had all the keenness of Archilochus, without his obscenity and scurrility.

After this, he married Attilia the daughter of Soranus, who was the first, but not the only woman he ever knew. In this respect, Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, was happier than he*; for in the course of a long life he had only one wife, and no intercourse with any other woman.

In the *servile* war† (I mean that with Spartacus) Gellius was general; and Cato served in it as a volunteer, for

* Plutarch seems to us to have spoken so feelingly of the happiness of the conjugal connection long continued with one affectionate wife, from his own experience.

† Seventy-one years before the Christian era.

the sake of his brother Cæpio, who was tribune: But he could not distinguish his vivacity and courage as he wished, because the war was ill conducted. However, amidst the effeminacy and luxury which then prevailed in the army, he paid so much regard to discipline, and, when occasion served, behaved with so much spirit and valour, as well as coolness and capacity, that he appeared not in the least inferior to Cato the Censor. Gellius made him an offer of the best military rewards and honours; but he would not accept or allow of them: "For," said he, "I "have done nothing that deserves such notice."

These things made him pass for a man of a strange and singular turn. Besides, when a law was made, that no man who solicited any office, should take *nomenclators* with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for, when he applied for a tribune's commission in the army, he had previously made himself master of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied, even by those who praised him. The more they considered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate.

With a tribune's commission he was sent into Macedonia, where Rubrius the prætor commanded. His wife, upon his departure was in great distress; and we are told that Munatius, a friend of Cato's, in order to comfort her, said, "Take courage, Attilia; I will take care of "your husband." "By all means," answered Cato. At the end of the first day's march, after they had supped, he said, "Come, Munatius, that you may the better per-"form your promise to Attilia, you shall not leave me "either day or night." In consequence of which, he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleasant improvement upon the matter; for, as Munatius always slept by him, it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato that took care of him.

Cato had with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. These rode on horseback, and he always went on foot; yet he kept up with them and conversed with them by turns. When he joined the army, which consisted of several legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this post he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be distinguished by his own virtue only; it was his ambition to make all the

troops that were under his care like himself. With this view he lessened nothing of that authority which might inspire fear, but he called in the support of reason to its assistance. By instruction and persuasion, as well as by rewards and punishments, he formed them so well, that it was hard to say whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more just. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do a dishonourable thing, and ambitious of honest praise.

Hence, though honour and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in universal esteem, and had entirely the hearts of his soldiers: For whatever he commanded others to do, he was the first to do himself. In his dress, his manner of living, and marching, he resembled the private soldier more than the officer; and at the same time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and strength of eloquence, he far exceeded all that had the name of generals. By these means he insensibly gained the affections of his troops. And, indeed, virtue does not attract imitation, except the person who gives the pattern is beloved as well as esteemed. Those who praise good men without loving them, only pay a respect to their name, but do not sincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamus a Stoic philosopher, named Athenodorus, and surnamed Cordylio, in great reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long resisted the applications of princes and other great men, who wanted to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendship and very considerable appointments. Cato thence concluded that it would be in vain to write or send any messenger to him; and, as the laws gave him leave of absence for two months, he sailed to Asia, and applied to him in person, in confidence that his accomplishments would carry his point with him. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his conversation, he drew him from his purpose, and brought him with him to the camp; as happy and as proud of this success, as if he had made a more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit, than those of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then subduing the provinces and kingdoms of the east.

While he was with the army in Macedonia, he had notice by letter that his brother Cæpio was fallen sick at Ænus in Thrace. The sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel to be had. He ventured, however, to sail from Thessalonica in a small passage-boat, with two friends and three servants, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at Ænus just after Cæpio expired. On this occasion Cato showed the sensibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philosopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and besides these and other tokens of the greatest sorrow, he spent vast sums upon his funeral. The spices and rich robes that were burnt with him were very expensive, and he erected a monument for him of Thasian marble in the *forum* at Ænus, which cost no less than eight talents.

Some condemned these things as little agreeable to the modesty and simplicity which Cato professed in general; but they did not perceive, that with all his firmness and inflexibility to the solicitations of pleasure, of terror, and importunity, he had great tenderness and sensibility in his nature. Many cities and princes sent presents of great value, to do honour to the obsequies, but he would not accept any thing in money; all that he would receive was spices and stuffs, and those too only on condition of paying for them.

He was left co-heir with Cæpio's daughter, to his estate; but when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral expenses to her account. Yet, though he acted so honourably in that affair, and continued in the same upright path, there was one* who scrupled not to write, that he passed his brother's ashes through a sieve, in search of the gold that might be melted down. Surely that writer thought himself above being called to account for his pen, as well as for his sword!

Upon the expiration of his commission, Cato was honoured at his departure, not only with the common good wishes for his health and praises of his conduct, but with tears and the most affectionate embraces; the soldiers spread their garments in his way, and kissed his hands; instances of esteem which few generals met with from the Romans in those times.

But before he returned to Rome, to apply for a share in the administration, he resolved to visit Asia, and see with

* Julius Cæsar in his *Anticato.*

his own eyes the manners, customs, and strength of every province. At the same time he was willing to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who, on account of the engagements of hospitality that he had entered into with his father, had given him a very pressing invitation.

His manner of travelling was this: Early in the morning he sent his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge the next night. These entered the town in a very modest and civil manner, and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they took up lodgings for him, and prepared his supper at an inn, without giving any one the least trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magistrates for quarters, and were always satisfied with those assigned them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's servants, but entirely disregarded*, because they came not to the magistrates in a clamorous and threatening manner; insomuch that their master arrived before they could procure lodgings. It was worse still when Cato himself made his appearance, for the townsmen seeing him set down on the luggage without speaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and dastardly spirit. Sometimes, however, he would send for the magistrates, and say, "Wretches, why do not you learn a proper hospi-
"tality? You will not find all that apply to you Catos.
"Do not then by your ill treatment give those occasion
"to exert their authority, who only want a pretence to
"take from you by violence, what you give with so
"much reluctance."

In Syria, we are told, he met with an humorous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he saw a number of people ranged in good order without the gates. On one side the way stood the young men in their mantles, and on the other the boys in their best attire. Some wore white robes, and had crowns on their heads; these were the priests and the magistrates. Cato imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his servants, who were sent before, for not preventing such a compliment. Nevertheless, he desired his friends to alight, and walked with them towards these Antiochians. When they were near enough to be

* Apparet servum hunc esse domini pauperis miscrique. *Terent. Eunuch.* iii. 2.

spoken to, the master of the ceremonies, an elderly man, with a staff and a crown in his hand, addressed himself first to Cato, and, without so much as saluting him, asked "How far Demetrius was behind; and when he might "be expected?" Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and, as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more respect to this favourite of his than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were seized with such a fit of laughter, that they could not recover themselves as they passed through the crowd. Cato himself, in some confusion, cried out "Alas, poor city!" and said not a word more. Afterwards, however, he used always to laugh when he told the story.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Asia from making any more mistakes of this kind for want of knowing Cato: For Cato, when he came to Ephesus, going to pay his respects to Pompey, as his superior in point of age and dignity, and as the commander of such great armies; Pompey seeing him at some distance, did not wait to receive him sitting, but rose up to meet him, and gave him his hand with great cordiality. He said much, too, in commendation of his virtue while he was present, and spoke more freely in his praise when he was gone. Every one, after this, paid great attention to Cato; and he was admired for what before had exposed him to contempt: For they could now see that his sedate and subdued conduct was the effect of his greatness of mind. Besides, it was visible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the consequence rather of respect than love; and that, though he expressed his admiration of him when present, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans that came to see him, he pressed much to stay and spend some time with him: To Cato he gave no such invitation; but, as if he thought himself under some restraint in his proceedings while he staid, readily dismissed him. However, amongst all the Romans that returned to Rome, to Cato only he recommended his wife and children, who indeed were his relations.

His fame now going before him, the cities in his way strove which should do him most honour, by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. On these occasions, Cato used to desire his friends to look well to him, lest he should make good the saying of Curio. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and compa-

nions, but disapproved his austerity, asked him one day, "Whether he was inclined to visit Asia when his time of "service was expired?" Cato answered, "Yes, by all "means." Upon which Curio said, "It is well; you will "return a little more practicable:" using an expressive Latin word to that purpose*.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, sent for Cato, with a design to recommend his children, and all his family, to his protection. As soon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable presents, and urged him strongly to accept them; which importunity so much displeased him, that though he came in the evening, he staid only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had gone a day's journey, he found at Pessinus a greater number of presents, with letters entreating him to receive them; "or if you will not "accept them," said Deiotarus, "at least permit your "friends to take them, who deserve some reward for their "services, and yet cannot expect it out of your own estate." Cato, however, would give them no such permission, though he observed that some of his friends cast a longing eye that way, and were visibly chagrined. "Corruption," said he, "will never want a pretence: But you shall be "sure to share with me whatever I can get with justice "and honour." He therefore sent Deiotarus his presents back.

When he was taking ship for Brundusium, his friends advised him to put Cæpio's remains on board another vessel†; but he declared, "He would sooner part with "his life than with them;" and so he set sail. It is said, the ship he was in happened to be in great danger, though all the rest had a tolerable passage.

After his return to Rome, he spent his time either in conversation with Athenodorus at home, or in the *forum* in the service of his friends. Though he was of a proper age‡ to offer himself for the quæstorship, he would not solicit it till he had qualified himself for that office, by

* Supposed to be *mansuetior*. As Cato understood it in a disadvantageous sense, we have rendered it by the word *practicable*, which conveys that idea.

† From a superstition which commonly obtained, they imagined that a dead body on board a ship would raise a storm. Plutarch, by using the word *happened* just below, shows that he did not give into that superstitious notion, though too apt to do those things.

‡ Twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

studying all the laws relating to it, by making inquiries of such as were experienced in it; and thus gained a thorough knowledge of its whole intention and process. Immediately upon his entering on it, he made a great reformation among the secretaries and other officers of the treasury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well versed in; and as young quæstors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under-officers took upon them not only to instruct, but to dictate to them, and were, in fact, quæstors themselves. Cato corrected this abuse. He applied himself with great vigour to the business, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly understood all that belonged to that department. Consequently, he made use of the secretaries only as servants, which they really were; sometimes correcting wilful abuses, and sometimes the mistakes which they made through ignorance. As the license in which they had lived, had made them refractory, and they hoped to secure themselves by flattering the other quæstors, they boldly withstood Cato. He therefore dismissed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the division of an estate. Against another he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then censor; a man whose authority was not only supported by his high office, but still more by his reputation; for in justice and regularity of life, he had distinguished himself above all the Romans of his time. He was also a friend and favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct; yet he opposed him in this cause. Perceiving he had not right on his side, he had recourse to entreaties; but Cato would not suffer him to proceed in that manner; and, as he did not desist, took occasion to say, "It would "be a great disgrace for you, Catulus, who are censor "and inspector of our lives and manners, to be turned "out of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to make answer; however, he did not speak: either through anger or shame, he went off silent, and greatly disconcerted. Nevertheless, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices against him exceeded those for him by one only, Catulus desired the assistance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague, who was prevented by sickness from attending the trial; but upon, this application, was brought in a litter into court, and

gave the determining voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not restore him to his employment, or pay him his stipend; for he considered the partial suffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The secretaries thus humbled and subdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hand. By these means, in a little time he rendered the treasury more respectable than the senate itself: And it was commonly thought, as well as said, that Cato had given the quæstorship all the dignity of the consulate: For, having made it his business to find out all the debts of long standing due to the public, and what the public was indebted to private persons, he settled these affairs in such a manner, that the commonwealth could no longer either do or suffer any injury in that respect; strictly demanding and insisting on the payment of whatever was owing to the state: and, at the same time, readily and freely satisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they saw many obliged to pay, who hoped never to have been called to account; and many receiving debts which they had given up as desperate. His predecessors had often, through interest or persuasion, accepted false bills, and pretended orders of senate; but nothing of that kind escaped Cato. There was one order in particular, which he suspected to be forged; and though it had many witnesses to support it, he would not allow it till the consuls came and declared it upon oath.

There was a number of assassins employed in the last proscription, to whom Sylla had given twelve thousand *drachmas* for each head they brought him. These were looked upon by all the world as the most execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to take vengeance on them. Cato, however, summoned all who had received the public money for such unjust services, and made them refund; inveighing, at the same time, with equal reason and severity, against their impious and abominable deeds. Those wretches, thus disgraced, and, as it were, prejudged, were afterwards indicted for murder before the judges, who punished them as they deserved. All ranks of people rejoiced at these executions; they thought they saw the tyranny rooted out with these men, and Sylla himself capitally punished in the death of his ministers.

The people were also delighted with his indefatigable diligence: For he always came to the treasury before his colleagues, and was the last that left it. There was no assembly of the people, or meeting of the senate, which he did not attend, in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remissions of fines and duties, and all unreasonable grants. Thus having cleared the exchequer of informers, and all such vermine, and filled it with treasure, he showed that it is possible for a government to be rich without oppressing the subject. At first this conduct of his was very obnoxious to his colleagues, but in time it came to be agreeable; because, by refusing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he stood the rage of disappointed avarice for them all; and, to the importunity of solicitation, they would answer, that they could do nothing without the consent of of Cato.

The last day of his office he was conducted home by almost the whole body of citizens: But, by the way, he was informed that some of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence upon Marcellus, were besieging him in the treasury, and pressing him to make out an order for sums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus, from his childhood, was a friend of Cato's, and a good quæstor, while he acted with him; but, when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by personal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato, therefore, immediately turned back, and finding Marcellus already prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the registers, and erased it; Marcellus all the while standing by in silence. Not content with this, he took him out of the treasury, and led him to his own house. Marcellus, however, did not complain, either then or afterwards, but continued the same friendship and intimacy with him to the last.

After the time of his quæstorship was expired, Cato kept a watchful eye upon the treasury. He had his servants there daily minuting down the proceedings; and he spent much time himself in perusing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own; a copy of which he had purchased for five talents.

Whenever the senate was summoned to meet, he was the first to give his attendance, and the last to withdraw;

and oftentimes, while the rest were slowly assembling, he would sit down and read, holding his gown before his book; nor would he ever be out of town when a house was called. Pompey finding that, in all his unwarrantable attempts, he must find a severe and inexorable opponent in Cato, when he had a point of that kind to carry, threw in his way either the cause of some friend to plead, or arbitration, or other business to attend to. But Cato soon perceived the snare, and rejected all the applications of his friends; declaring, that, when the senate was to sit, he would never undertake any other business. For his attention to the concerns of government was not, like that of some others, guided by the views of honour or profit, nor left to chance or humour; but he thought *a good citizen ought to be as solicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive.* For this reason he desired his friends, and others with whom he had connections in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, the important decisions, and all the principal business transacted there.

He made a point of it to oppose Clodius the seditious demagogue, who was always proposing some dangerous law, or some change in the constitution, or accusing the priests and vestals to the people. Fabia Terentia, sister to Cicero's wife, and one of the vestals, was impeached among the rest, and in danger of being condemned: But Cato defended the cause of these injured people so well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in great confusion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to thank him for this service, he said, "You must thank your country, "whose utility is the spring that guides all my actions."

His reputation came to be so great, that a certain orator in a cause where only one witness was produced, said to the judges, "One man's evidence is not sufficient to go "by, not even if it was Cato's." It grew, indeed, into a kind of proverb, when people were speaking of strange and incredible things, to say, "I would not believe such "a thing, though it were affirmed by Cato."

A man profuse in his expenses, and in all respect of a worthless character, taking upon him one day to speak in the senate in praise of temperance and sobriety, Annæus rose up and said, "Who can endure to hear a man who "eats and drinks like Crassus, and builds like Lucullus, "pretend to talk here like Cato?" Hence others, who were dissolute and abandoned in their lives, but preserved

a gravity and austerity in their discourse, came by way of ridicule to be called *Catos*.

His friends advised him to offer himself for the tribuneship; but he thought it was not yet time. He said, "He "looked upon an office of such power and authority, as "a violent medicine, which ought not to be used except "in cases of great necessity." As, at that time, he had no public business to engage him, he took his books and philosophers with him, and set out for Lucania, where he had lands, and an agreeable country retreat. By the way he met with a number of horses, carriages, and servants, which he found to belong to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneship. This put him to a stand: he remained some time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were surprised at this conduct, "Know ye "not," said he, "that Metellus is formidable even in his "stupidity? But remember, that he now follows the "counsels of Pompey; that the state lies prostrate before "him; and that he will fall upon and crush it with the "force of a thunderbolt. Is this then a time for the "pursuit of rural amusements? Let us rescue our liber-"ties, or die in their defence!" Upon the remonstrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm; and after a short stay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early next morning went to the *forum*, as a candidate for the tribuneship, in opposition to Metellus: for to oppose is the nature of that office; and its power is chiefly negative; insomuch, that the dissent of a single voice is sufficient to disannul a measure in which the whole assembly beside has concurred.

Cato was at first attended only by a small number of his friends; but, when his intentions were made known, he was immediately surrounded by men of honour and virtue, the rest of his acquaintance, who gave him the strongest encouragement, and solicited him to apply for the tribuneship, not as it might imply a favour conferred on himself, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow-citizens: observing, at the same time, that, though it had been frequently in his power to obtain this office without the trouble of opposition; yet he now stepped forth, regardless not only of that trouble, but even of personal danger, when the liberties of his country were at stake. Such was the zeal and eagerness of the people, that

pressed around him, that it was with the utmost difficulty he made his way to the *forum*.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus amongst the rest, he observed that great corruption had crept into the consular elections. On this subject he gave a severe charge to the people, which he concluded, by affirming on oath, that he would prosecute every one that should offend in that way. He took care, however, that Silanus*, who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. But against Muræna, who by means of bribery, had carried the consulship at the same time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the person accused has power to set a guard upon him who lays the information, that he may have no opportunity of supporting a false accusation by private machinations before his trial. When the person that was appointed Muræna's officer, on this occasion, observed the liberal and candid conduct of Cato that he sought only to support his information by fair and open evidence, he was so struck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that the would frequently wait upon him in the *forum*, or at his house, and, after inquiring whether he should proceed that day in the business of the information, if Cato answered in the negative, he made no scruple of leaving him. When the trial came one, Cicero, who was then consul, and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleasant things against the Stoics, and their paradoxical philosophy. This occasioned no small mirth amongst the judges: upon which Cato only observed with a smile, to those who stood next him, that Rome had indeed a most laughable consul†. Muræna acted a very prudent part with regard to Cato; for, though acquitted of the charge he had brought against him, he nevertheless consulted him

* From this passage it should seem that Plutarch supposed Cato to be capable of sacrificing to family connections. But the fault lies rather in the historian than in the tribune: For, is it to be supposed that the rigid virtue of Cato should descend to the most obnoxious circumstances of predilection? It is not possible to have a stronger instance of his integrity, than his refusing the alliance of Pompey the Great; though that refusal was impolitic, and attended with bad consequences to the state.

† The French and English translators have it, *a pleasant consul*. But that does not convey the sarcasm that Cato meant. *Ridiculum est quod risum facit.*

on all occasions of importance during his consulship; respected him for his sense and virtue, and made use of his counsels in the administration of government. For Cato, on the bench, was the most rigid dispenser of justice; though, in private society, he was affable and humane.

Before he was appointed tribune in the consulship of Cicero, he supported the supreme magistrate in a very seasonable manner, by many excellent measures during the turbulent times of Catiline. It is well known that this man meditated nothing less than a total subversion of the Roman state; and that, by the spirited counsels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without effecting his purpose. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest of the conspirators, after reproaching Catiline for his timidity, and the feebleness of his enterprises, resolved to distinguish themselves at least more effectually. Their scheme was nothing less than to burn the city, and destroy the empire, by the revolt of the colonies and foreign wars. Upon the discovery of this conspiracy, Cicero, as we have observed in his life, called a council; and the first that spoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, that the conspirators should be punished with the utmost rigour. This opinion was adopted by the rest, till it came to Cæsar. This eloquent man, consistent with whose ambitious principles it was rather to encourage than to suppress any threatening innovations, urged, in his usual persuasive manner, the propriety of allowing the accused the privilege of trial; and that the conspirators should only be taken into custody. The senate, who were under apprehensions from the people, thought it prudent to come into this measure; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he thought of nothing more than imprisonment, that being the most rigorous punishment a citizen of Rome could suffer.

This change of sentiments in those who spoke first, was followed by the rest, who all gave into milder measures: But Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended that opinion with the greatest vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his pusillanimity in changing his resolution; he attacked Cæsar, and charged him with a secret design of subverting the government, under the plausible appearance of mitigating speeches and a humane conduct; of intimidating the senate, by the

same means, even in a case where he had to fear for himself, and wherein he might think himself happy, if he could be exempted from every imputation and suspicion of guilt; he who had openly and daringly attempted to rescue from justice the enemies of the state; and shown, that so far from having any compassion for his country, when on the brink of destruction, he could even pity and plead for the wretches, the unnatural wretches, that meditated its ruin, and grive that their punishment should prevent their design. This, it is said, is the only oration of Cato that is extant. Cicero had selected a number of the swiftest writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the senate-house. Before his consulate, they had no short-hand writers. Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, agreeably to his opinion, that the conspirators should suffer capital punishment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and manners of Cato, the least circumstance that may contribute to mark them, should not escape our notice. While he was warmly contesting his point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole senate were upon the disputants, it is said that a billet was brought in, and delivered to Cæsar. Cato immediately suspected, and charged him with some traitorous design; and it was moved in the senate, that the billet should be read publicly. Cæsar delivered it to Cato, who stood near him; and the latter had no sooner cast his eye upon it, than he perceived it to be the hand of his own sister Servilia, who was passionately in love with Cæsar, by whom she had been debauched. He therefore threw it back to Cæsar, saying, "Take it, you sot," and went on with his discourse. Cato was always unfortunate amongst the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæsar; and his other sister Servilia, was in still worse repute; for, though married to Lucullus, one of the first men in Rome, by whom she also had a son, she was divorced for her insufferable irregularities. But what was most distressful to Cato, was, that the conduct of his own wife, Attilia, was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Attilia, he married Marcia the

daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plots in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thraseas, upon the authority of Munatius, Cato's particular friend, who lived under the same roof with him, gives us this account of the matter: Amongst the friends and followers of Cato, some made a more open profession of their sentiments than others. Amongst these was Quintus Hortensius, a man of great dignity and politeness. Not contented merely with the friendship of Cato, he was desirous of a family alliance with him; and for this purpose, he scrupled not to request that his daughter Portia, who was already married to Bibulus, by whom she had two children, might be lent to him, as a fruitful soil for the purpose of propagation. The thing itself, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural or improper: For why should a woman in the flower of her age, either continue useless, till she is past childbearing, or overburden her husband with too large a family? The mutual use of women, he added, in virtuous families, would not only increase a virtuous offspring, but strengthen and extend the connections of society. Moreover, if Bibulus should be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, she should be restored after she had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato, by her pregnancy. Cato answered, that he had the greatest regard for the friendship of Hortensius, but could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortensius, however, would not give up the point here; but when he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, saying, that she was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already large enough. He could not possibly make this request, upon a supposition that Cato had no regard for his wife; for she was at that very time pregnant. Notwithstanding, the latter, when he observed the violent inclination Hortensius had to be allied to him, did not absolutely refuse him; but said it was necessary to consult Marcia's father Philip on the occasion. Philip, therefore, was applied to, and his daughter was espoused to Hortensius in the presence and with the consent of Cato. These circumstances are not related in the proper order of time; but speaking of Cato's connection with the women, I was led to mention them.

When the conspirators were executed, and Cæsar, who, on account of his calumnies in the senate, was obliged to

throw himself on the people, had infused a spirit of insurrection in the worst and lowest of the citizens, Cato, being apprehensive of the consequences, engaged the senate to appease the multitude by a free gift of corn. This cost twelve hundred and fifty talents a-year; but it had the desired effect*.

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held several seditious meetings, and published an edict, that Pompey should bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of saving the city from the attempts of Catiline. Such was the pretence; but his real design was to give up the state into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the senate, Cato, instead of treating Metellus with his usual asperity, expostulated with great mildness, and had even recourse to entreaty, intimating, at the same time, that his family had ever stood in the interest of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildness to his fears, was the more insolent on that account, and most audaciously asserted that he would carry his purpose into execution, whether the senate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato, were changed in a moment; and, with all the force of eloquence, he declared, "That while he was living, Pompey should never enter armed into the city." The senate neither approved of the conduct of Cato, nor of Metellus: The latter they considered as a desperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than that of general destruction and confusion: The virtue of Cato they looked upon as a kind of enthusiasm, which would ever lead him to *arm* in the cause of justice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for the edict, a number of aliens, gladiators, and slaves, armed by Metellus, appeared in the *forum*. He was also followed by several of the commons, who wanted to introduce Pompey, in hopes of a revolution; and his hands were strengthened by the prætorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on the other hand, had

* This is almost one-third more than the sum said to have been expended in the same distribution in the life of Cæsar; and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expense, the policy was bad; for nothing so effectually weakens the hands of government as this method of bribing the populace, and treating them as injudicious nurses do froward children.

the principal citizens on his side; but they were rather sharers in the injury, than auxiliaries in the removal of it. The danger to which he was exposed was now so great, that his family was under the utmost concern. The greatest part of his friends and relations came to his house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating or sleeping. His wife and sisters bewailed their misfortunes with tears, while he himself passed the evening with the utmost confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the rest to imitate his example. He supped, and went to rest as usual; and slept soundly till he was waked by his colleague Minutius Thermus. He went to the *forum*, accompanied by few, but met by many, who advised him to take care of his person. When he saw the temple of Castor surrounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himself seated on an eminence with Cæsar, turning to his friends, "Which," said he, "is most contemptible, the savage disposition, or the cowardice of "him who brings such an army against a man who is "naked and unarmed?" Upon this he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those that occupied the steps fell back to make way for him, but would suffer no one else to pass. Munatius only, with some difficulty, he drew along with him; and, as soon as he entered, he took his seat between Cæsar and Metellus, that he might, by that means, prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little; and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato met with from all the honest men that were present, who, while they admired his firm and steady spirit, so strongly marked in his aspect, encouraged him to persevere in the cause of liberty, and mutually agreed to support him.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and that having no effect, he wrested it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to speak it from memory; but Thermus prevented him, by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found this ineffectual, and perceived that the people were gone over to the opposite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon this the people dispersed, and Cato was left alone, exposed to a storm of sticks and stones. But Muræna, though the former had so lately an information against him, would

not desert him: He defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was exposed; entreated the mob to desist from their violence, and at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Castor. When Metellus found the benches deserted, and the adversary put to the rout, he imagined he had gained his point, and again very modestly proceeded to confirm the edict. The adversary, however, quickly rallied and advanced with shouts of the greatest courage and confidence. Metellus's party, supposing that, by some means, they had got arms, was thrown into confusion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the dispersion of these, Cato came forward, and, by his encouragement and applause, established a considerable party against Metellus. The senate too voted that Cato should, at all events, be supported; and that an edict, so pregnant with every thing that was pernicious to order and good government, and had even a tendency to civil war, should be opposed with the utmost vigour.

Metellus still maintained his resolution; but finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered spirit of Cato, he came suddenly into the open court, assembled the people, said every thing that he thought might render Cato odious to them; and declared, that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conspiracy against Pompey, whose disgrace Rome might one day have severe occasion to repent.

Upon this he immediately set off for Asia to carry an account of these matters to Pompey; and Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troublesome tribune, and crushing, as it were, in him, the growing power of Pompey, obtained the highest reputation. But what made him still more popular, was his prevailing on the senate to desist from their purpose of voting Metellus infamous, and divesting him of the magistracy. His humanity and moderation in not insulting a vanquished enemy, were admired by the people in general; whilst men of political sagacity could see that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too much.

Soon afterwards, Lucullus returned from the war, which being concluded by Pompey, gave that general, in some measure, the laurels; and being rendered obnoxious to the people, through the impeachment of Caius Memmius, who opposed him more from a view of making his

court to Pompey than any personal hatred, he was in danger of losing his triumphs. Cato, however, partly because Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly because he thought the proceedings unfair, opposed Memmius, and by that means exposed himself to great obloquy. But though divested of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had full credit enough to banish Memmius from the courts, and from the lists. Lucullus, therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himself to Cato, as to the strongest bulwark against the power of Pompey. When this great man returned from the war, confident of his interest at Rome, from the magnificent reception he every where met with, he scrupled not to send a requisition to the senate, that they would defer the election of consuls till his arrival, that he might support Piso. Whilst they were in doubt about the matter, Cato, not because he was under any concern about deferring the election, but that he might intercept the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonstrated against the measure, and carried it in the negative. Pompey was not a little disturbed at this; and concluding, that, if Cato were his enemy, he would be the greatest obstacle to his designs, he sent for his friend Munatius, and commissioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himself, and the younger for his son. Some say that they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may, when Munatius opened his commission to Cato, in the presence of his wife and sisters, the women were not a little delighted with the splendour of the alliance: But Cato, without a moment's hesitation, answered, "Go, Munatius; go, and "tell Pompey, that Cato is not to be caught in a female "snare. Tell him, at the same time, that I am sensible "of the honour he does me; and whilst he continues to "act as he ought to do, I shall have that friendship for "him which is superior to affinity; but I will never give "hostages, against my country, to the glory of Pompey." The women, as it is natural to suppose, were chagrined; and even the friends of Cato blamed the severity of his answer: But Pompey soon after gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open bribery in a consular election. "You see now," said Cato to the women, "what "would have been the consequence of my alliance with

"Pompey: I should have had my share in all the aspersions that are thrown upon him." And they owned that he had acted right. However, if one ought to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato did wrong in rejecting the alliance of Pompey. By suffering it to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two great men went near to overturn the Roman empire. The commonwealth it effectually destroyed. But this would never have been the case, had not Cato, to whom the slighter faults of Pompey were obnoxious, suffered him, by thus strengthening his hands, to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, were only impending at the period under our review. When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey, concerning their institutions in Pontus (for each wanted to confirm his own), as the former was evidently injured, he had the support of Cato; while Pompey, his junior in the senate, in order to increase his popularity, proposed the Agrarian law in favour of the army. Cato opposed it, and it was rejected; in consequence of which Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the most violent and factious of the tribunes; and much about the same time contracted his alliance with Cæsar, to which Cato, in some measure led the way. The thing was thus: Cæsar, on his return from Spain, was at once a candidate for the consulship, and demanded a triumph. But as the laws of Rome required that those who sue for the supreme magistracy, should sue in person; and those who triumph should be without the walls, he petitioned the senate that he might be allowed to sue for the consulship by proxy. The senate, in general, agreed to oblige Cæsar; and when Cato, the only one that opposed it, found this to be the case, as soon as it came to his turn, he spoke the whole day long, and thus prevented the doing of any business. Cæsar therefore, gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the consulship and the interest of Pompey. As soon as he was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as they had both entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed the laws for the distribution of lands amongst the poor, and the other seconded the proposal. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus, the other consul, opposed it: But Cato in particular, who suspected the pernicious consequences, of Cæsar's connections with Pompey, was strenuous against

the motion; and said it was not the distribution of lands that he feared so much as the rewards which the cajolers of the people might expect from their favours.

In this not only the senate agreed with him, but many of the people too, who were reasonably offended by the unconstitutional conduct of Cæsar: For whatever the most violent and the maddest of the tribunes proposed for the pleasure of the mob, Cæsar, to pay an abject court to them, ratified by the consular authority. When he found his motion, therefore, likely to be overruled, his party had recourse to violence, pelted Bibulus the consul with dirt, and broke the rods of his *lictors*. At length, when darts began to be thrown, and many were wounded, the rest of the senate fled as fast as possible out of the *forum*. Cato was the last that left it; and, as he walked slowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the wickedness and madness of the people. The Agrarian law, therefore, was not only passed, but they obliged the whole senate to take an oath that they would confirm and support it; and those that should refuse were sentenced to pay a heavy fine. Necessity brought most of them into the measure; for they remembered the example of Metellus*, who was banished for refusing to comply in a similar instance with the people. Cato was solicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the entreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath. But what principally induced him, was the remonstrances and expostulations of Cicero; who represented to him, that there might not be so much virtue as he imagined, in one man's dissenting from a decree that was established by the rest of the senate; that to expose himself to certain danger, without even the possibility of producing any good effect, was perfect insanity; and, what was still worse, to leave the commonwealth, for which he had undergone so many toils, to the mercy of innovators and usurpers, would look as if he were weary, at least, of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome; but Rome could not do without Cato: His friends could not do without him; himself could not dispense with his assistance and support, while the audacious Clodius, by means of his tri-

* Metellus Numidicus.

bunitial authority, was forming the most dangerous machinations against him. By these, and the like remonstrances, solicited at home, and in the *forum*, Cato, it is said, was with difficulty prevailed on to take the oath; and that, his friend Favonious excepted, he was the last that took it.

Elated with this success, Cæsar proposed another act for distributing almost the whole province of Campania amongst the poor: Cato alone opposed it. And though Cæsar dragged him from the bench, and conveyed him to prison, he omitted not, nevertheless, to speak as he passed in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the consequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a stop to such proceedings. The senate, with heavy hearts followed Cato, and all the virtuous part of the people, with silent indignation. Cæsar was not inattentive to the public discontent that this proceeding occasioned; but ambitiously expecting some concessions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to prison. At length, however, when he found these expectations vain, unable any longer to support the shame to which this conduct exposed him, he instructed one of the tribunes to rescue him from his officers. The people, notwithstanding, brought into his interest by these public distributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the space of five years; though Cato foretold them, at the same time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws (for he was of the patrician order), a tribune of the people; because they knew he would, in every respect, accede to their wishes with regard to the banishment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piso, the father of Cæsar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius*, a bosom friend of Pompey's, as we are told by those who knew him best, they created consuls.

Yet, though they had every thing in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, still they were afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains it cost them to overbear him, and that the violent and compulsive measures they had re-

* Plutarch does not mean to represent this friendship in any favourable light. The character of Gabinius was despicable in every respect, as appears from Cicero's oration for Sextius.

course to, did them but little honour. Clodius, too, saw that he could not distress Cicero, while supported by Cato; yet this was his great object; and, upon his entering on his tribunitial office, he had an interview with Cato; when, after paying him the compliment of being the honestest man in Rome, he proposed to him, as a testimony of his sincerity, the government of Cyprus; an appointment which, he said, had been solicited by many. Cato answered that, far from being a favour, it was a treacherous scheme and a disgrace; upon which Clodius fiercely replied, "If it is not your pleasure to go, it is mine that "you shall go." And saying this he went immediately to the senate, and procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither supplied him with a vessel, a soldier, or a servant, two secretaries excepted, one of whom was a notorious thief, and the other a client of his own. Besides, as if the charge of Cyprus and the opposition of Ptolemy were not a sufficient task for him, he ordered him likewise to restore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was, to keep Cato, as long as possible, out of Rome.

Cato, thus obliged to go, exhorted Cicero, who was at the same time closely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the necessity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he sent before him to Cyprus, he negociated with Ptolemy in such a manner, that he yielded without coming to blows; for Cato gave him to understand, that he should not live in a poor or abject condition, but that he should be appointed high-priest to the Paphian Venus*. While this was negociating, Cato stopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's answer, and making preparations for the reduction of the island.

* This appointment seems to be but a poor exchange for a kingdom; but when it is remembered that, in the Pagan theology, the priests of the gods were not inferior in dignity to princes, and that most of them were of royal families;—when it is considered in what high reputation the Paphian Venus stood amongst the ancients, and what a lucrative as well as honourable office that of her priest must have been, occasioned by the offerings of the prodigious concourse of people who came annually to pay their devotions at her temple, it will be thought that Ptolemy made no bad bargain for his little island.

In the mean time, Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria upon some quarrel with his subjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to solicit his re-establishment from Cæsar and Pompey, by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he sent to him, in hopes that he would wait upon him. When his messenger arrived, Cato, who then happened to have taken physic, told him, that if Ptolemy wanted to see him, he might come himself. When he came, Cato neither went forward to meet him, nor did he so much as rise from his seat, but saluted him as he would do a common person, and carelessly bade him sit down. Ptolemy was somewhat hurt by it at first, and surprised to meet with such a supercilious severity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dress and appearance. However, when he entered into conversation with him concerning his affairs, when he heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was easily reconciled to him. Cato, it seems, blamed his impolitic application to Rome: represented to him the happiness he had left, and that he was about to expose himself to toils, the plagues of attendance, and what was still worse, to the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt, converted into money, could not satisfy. He advised him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the same time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, restored by his representations, as it were from insanity to reason, admired the discretion and sincerity of Cato, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheless, brought him back to his former measures; but he was no sooner at the door of one of the magistrates of Rome, than he repented of his folly, and blamed himself for rejecting the virtuous counsils of Cato, as for disobeying the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good stars would have it, took himself off by poison. As he was said to have left a full treasury, Cato being determined to go himself to Byzantium, sent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, because he had not sufficient confidence in Canidius. When the exiles were reconciled to the rest of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of vessels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to

be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was very exact, attending at the sales, took the accounts himself, and brought every article to the best market. Nor would he trust to the common customs of sale-factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but had private conferences with the purchasers, in which he urged them to bid higher, so that every thing went off at the greatest rate. By this means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almost implacably affronted his particular friend Munatius. Cæsar, too, in his oration against him, availed himself of this circumstance, and treated him very severely. Munatius, however, tells us that this misunderstanding was not so much occasioned by Cato's distrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of Canidius: for Munatius wrote memoirs of Cato, which Thraseas has chiefly followed. He tells us, that he was amongst the last that arrived at Cyprus, and by that means found nothing but the refuse of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments, and was refused admittance, because Cato was privately concerting something with Canidius; and that when he modestly complained of this conduct, he received a severe answer from Cato; who observed, with Theophrastus, that too much love was frequently the occasion of hatred; and that he, because of the strength of his attachment to him, was angry at the slightest inattention. He told him, at the same time, that he made use of Canidius as a necessary agent, and because he had more confidence in him than in the rest, having found him honest, though he had been there from the first, and had opportunities of being otherwise. This conversation, which he had in private with Cato, the latter, he informs us, related to Canidius; and when this came to his knowledge, he would neither attend to Cato's entertainments, nor, though called upon, assist at his councils. Cato threatened to punish him for disobedience, and, as is usual to take a pledge from him*, Munatius paid no regard to it, but sailed for Rome, and long retained his resentment. Upon Cato's return, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her hus-

* When a magistrate refused a summons to the senate or public council, the penalty was to take some piece of furniture out of his house, and to keep it till he should attend. This they called *pignora capere*.

band, he and Munatius were both invited to sup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the rest of the company had taken their places, asked where he should take his place? Barca answered, where he pleased. "Then," said he, "I will take my place by Munatius." He therefore took his place next him, but shewed him no other marks of friendship during supper; afterwards, however, at the request of Marcia, Cato wrote to him that he should be glad to see him. He therefore waited on him at his own house, and being entertained by Marcia till the rest of the morning visitors were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with great kindness. We have dwelt upon these little circumstances the longer, as, in our opinion, they contribute no less than more public and important actions, towards the clear deliniation of manners and characters.

Cato in his expedition had acquired near seven thousand talents of silver, and being under some apprehensions on account of the length of his voyage, he provided a number of vessels that would hold two talents and five hundred *drachmas* a-piece. To each of these he tied a long cord, at the end of which was fastened a long piece of cork, so that if any misfortune should happen to the ship that contained them, these buoys might mark the spot where they lay. The whole treasure, however, except a very little, was conveyed with safety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept very accurate, were both lost; one by shipwreck, with his freedman Philargyrus, and the other by fire at Corcyra; for the sailors, on account of the coldness of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This troubled Cato, though Ptolemy's servants, whom he had brought over with him, were sufficient vouchers for his conduct against enemies and informers: For he did not intend these accounts merely as a proof of his honesty, but to recommend the same kind of accuracy and industry to others.

As soon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magistrates, the priests, the whole senate, and multitudes of the people went down to the river to meet him, and covered both its banks, so that his reception was something like a triumph. Yet there was an ill-timed haughtiness in his conduct; for, though the consuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not so much as

attempt to make the shore where they were, but rowed carelessly along in a royal six-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were struck with admiration at the vast quantity of money that was carried along the streets, and the senate, in full assembly, bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, and voted him a prætorship extraordinary*, and the right of attending at the public shows in a *prætexta*, or purple-bordered gown: But these honours he thought proper to decline. At the same time he petitioned that they would grant his freedom to Nicias, an officer of Ptolemy's, in favour of whose diligence and fidelity he gave his own testimony. Philip, the father of Marcia, was consul at that time, and his colleague respected Cato no less for his virtue, than Philip might for his alliance, so that he had in some measure the whole consular interest in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile to which he had been sentenced by Clodius, his influence was considerable, and he scrupled not, in the absence of Clodius, to pull down and destroy the tribunitial edicts which the latter had put up in the Capitol. Upon this the senate was assembled, and Cicero, upon the accusation of Clodius, made his defence, by alleging that Clodius had not been legally appointed tribune, and that, of course, every act of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him, and said, "That he was "indeed sensible that the whole administration of Clo-"dius had been wicked and absurd;" but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, all that he had done in Cyprus would stand for nothing, because his commission issuing from a tribune not legally appointed, could not be valid: that Clodius, though he was of a patrician family, had not been chosen tribune contrary to law, because he had previously been inrolled in the order of plebeians by an act passed for that purpose; but that, if he had acted unjustly in his office, he was liable to personal impeachments, while at the same time the office itself retained its proper force and authority. This occasioned a quarrel for some time between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they were reconciled.

* Cato was then but thirty-eight years of age, and consequently too young to be prætor in the ordinary way, in which a person could not enter on that office till he was forty.

Cæsar, upon his return out of Gaul, was met by Pompey and Crassus, and it was agreed that the two last should again stand for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his government five years longer, and that the best provinces, revenues, and troops, should be secured to themselves. This was nothing less than a division of empire, and a plot against the liberties of the commonwealth. This dangerous junction deterred many men of distinguished rank and integrity from their design of offering themselves candidates for the consulship. Cato, however, prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who married his sister, not to give up the point, nor to resign his pretensions; for that the contest was not then for the consulship, but for the liberties of Rome. The sober part of the citizens agreed too, that the consular power should not be suffered to grow so enormous by the union of Crassus and Pompey; but that, at all events, they were to be separated, and Domitius encouraged and supported in the competition. They assured him at the same time, that he would have the voices of many of the people who were at present only silent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehensive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torchlight into the *Campus Martius*. The torchbearer was killed at the first stroke; the rest were wounded and fled, Cato and Domitius alone excepted; for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, still kept Domitius on the spot, and conjured him not to desert the cause of liberty while he had life, but to oppose to the utmost those enemies of their country, who showed what use they intended to make of that power, which they sought by such execrable means.

Domitius, however, unable to stand the shock, retired, and Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Yet Cato gave up nothing for lost, but solicited a prætorship for himself that he might from thence, as from a kind of fort, militate against the consuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The consuls, apprehensive that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the consular authority, suddenly assembled a small senate, and obtained a decree, that those who were elected prætors should immediately enter upon their

office*, without waiting the usual time to stand the charge, if any such charge should be brought against them, of bribery and corruption. By this means they brought in their own creatures and dependents, presided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Yet still the virtue of Cato could not totally lose its weight. There were still those who had honesty enough to be ashamed of selling his interest, and wisdom enough to think that it would be of service to the state to elect him even at the public expense. He therefore was nominated prætor by the votes of the first called tribe; but Pompey scandalously pretending that he heard it thunder, broke up the assembly: for it is not common for the Romans to do any business if it thunders. Afterwards, by means of bribery, and by the exclusion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the assembly, they procured Vatinius to be returned prætor instead of Cato. Those electors, it is said, who voted from such iniquitous motives, like so many culprits, immediately ran away. To the rest that assembled and expressed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to address himself in a speech; in the course of which he foretold, as if inspired by some divine influence, all those evils that then threatened the commonwealth; and stirred up the people against Pompey and Crassus, who, in the consciousness of their guilty intentions, feared the controul of the prætorial power of Cato. In his return home he was followed by a greater multitude than all that had been appointed prætors united.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the distribution of the consular provinces, and proposed giving Spain and Africa to one of the consuls, and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unlimited power of making war, and extending dominion, the rest of the senate, thinking opposition vain, forebore to speak against the motion. Cato, however, before it was put to the vote, ascended the *rostrum*, in order to speak, but he was limited to the space of two hours; and when he had spent this time in repetitions, instructions,

* There was always a time allotted between nomination and possession; that if any undue means had been made use of in the canvass, they might be discovered.

and predictions, and was proceeding in his discourse, the lictor took him down from the rostrum: Yet still, when below amongst the people, he persisted to speak in behalf of liberty; and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the consul's beadle again laid hold of him and turned him out of the forum. He attempted, notwithstanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to assist him; which being done more than once, Trebonius, in a violent rage, ordered him to prison. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addressed himself as he went, till, at last, Trebonius, through fear, dismissed him. Thus Cato was rescued that day. But afterwards, the people being partly overawed, and partly corrupted, the consular party prevented Aquilius, one of the tribunes, by force of arms, from coming out of the senate-house into the assembly, wounded many, killed some, and thrust Cato, who said it thundered, out of the forum; so that the law was passed by compulsion. This rendered Pompey so obnoxious, that the people were going to pull down his statues, but were prevented by Cato. Afterwards, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato addressing himself particularly to Pompey, told him, with great confidence, he did not then consider that he was taking Cæsar upon his shoulders; but when he began to find his weight, and could neither support it, nor shake him off, they would both fall together, and crush the commonwealth in their fall; and then he should find, too late, that the counsels of Cato were no less salutary for himself than intrinsically just. Yet Pompey, though he often heard these things, in the confidence of his fortune and his power, despised them, and feared no reverse from the part of Cæsar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor, but he can hardly be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct, as to have derogated from it by the meanness of his dress; for he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe or his shoes, and sit in judgment, even in capital cases, on some of the first personages in Rome. Some will have it, that he passed sentence, when he had drank after dinner, but that is not true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption which then prevailed amongst the

people in elections of every kind: And, in order to effect this, he moved that a law should be passed in the senate, for every candidate, though no information should be laid, to declare upon oath in what manner he obtained his election. This gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part of the people: So that, as Cato was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was so much insulted and pelted with stones by the mob, that the whole court fled, and he with difficulty escaped into the rostrum. There he stood, and his firm and steady aspect soon hushed the clamours and disorders of the populace; so that when he spoke upon the subject, he was heard with a general silence*. The senate publicly testified their approbation of his conduct; but he answered, that no compliment could be paid to them at least for deserting the prætor, and declining to assist him when in manifest danger. This measure distressed the candidates considerably; for, on the one hand they were afraid of giving bribes, and on the other, they were apprehensive of losing their election, if it should be done by their opponents. They thought it best, therefore, jointly to deposit five hundred sestertia each†, then to canvass in a fair and legal manner; and if any one should be convicted of bribery he should forfeit his deposit. Cato was appointed guarantee of this agreement, and the money was to be lodged in his hand, but for this he accepted of sureties. When the day of election came, Cato stood next to the tribune who presided, and, as he examined the votes, one of the depositing candidates appeared to have made use of some fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the rest. But, after complimenting the integrity of Cato, they remitted

* This circumstance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following passage in Virgil, and at the same time the laboured dignity and weight of that verse,

—Pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem,

conveys a very strong and just idea of Cato.

Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque facet et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat.
Tum, pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet. *Virg. Æn.* 1.

† Cicero speaks of this agreement in one of his epistles to Atticus.

the fine, and said that the guilt was a sufficient punishment. Cato, however, rendered himself obnoxious to many by this conduct, who seemed displeased that he affected both the legislative and judicial powers. Indeed, there is hardly any authority so much exposed to envy as the latter, and hardly any virtue so obnoxious as that of justice, owing to the popular weight and influence that it always carries along with it: For though he who administers justice in a virtuous manner may not be respected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts; yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create suspicion: they are distinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired; one arises from a natural acuteness, the other from a natural firmness of mind. However, as justice is a virtue so easily practicable and attainable, the opposite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became obnoxious to the chiefs of Rome in general: But Pompey in particular, whose glory was to rise out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied assiduity to procure impeachments against him. The incendiary Clodious, who had again entered the lists of Pompey, accused Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, and of raising an opposition to Pompey, because the latter had refused to accept of his daughter in marriage. Cato, on the other hand, maintained, that though he was not so much as supplied with a horse, or a soldier, by the government, yet he had brought more treasure to the commonwealth from Cyprus, than Pompey had done from so many wars and triumphs over the harassed world. He asserted, that he never even wished for the alliance of Pompey, not because he thought him unworthy, but because of the difference of their political principles. "For my own "part," said he, "I rejected the province offered me as an "appendage to my prætorship; but for Pompey, he arro-"gated some provinces to himself, and some he bestowed "on his friends: Nay, he has now, without even soli-"citing your consent, accommodated Cæsar in Gaul "with six thousand soldiers. Such forces, armaments and "horses, are now, it seems, at the disposal of private men: "and Pompey retains the title of commander and gene-"ral, while he delegates to others the legions and the "provinces; and continues within the walls to preside at

" elections, the arbiter of the mob, and the fabricator of " sedition. From this conduct his principles are ob- " vious. He holds it but one step from anarchy to abso- " lute power*." Thus Cato maintained his party against Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of Cato, as Apollodorus Phalereus† is said to have been of Socrates, who was transported with his discourses even to madness or intoxication. This Favonius stood for the office of ædile, and apparently lost it; but Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding them all to be written in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and the tribunes set aside the election. Favonius, therefore, was elected, and in the discharge of the several offices of his magistracy he had the assistance of Cato, particularly in the theatrical entertainments that were given to the people. In these Cato gave another specimen of his economy; for he did not allow the players and musicians crowns of gold, but of wild-olive, such as they use in the Olympic games. Instead of expensive presents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces, and radishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the meanness of his presents, while others were delighted with this relaxation from the usual severity of his manners. And Favonius, who appeared only as a common person amongst the spectators, and had given up the management of the whole to Cato, declared the same to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius, exhibited at the same time in the other theatre a very magnificent entertainment: but the people left him, and were much more entertained with seeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato master of the ceremonies. It is probable, however, that he took this upon him only to show the folly of troublesome and expensive preparations in matters

* This maxim has been verified in almost every state. When ambitious men aimed at absolute power, their first measure was to impede the regular movements of the constitutional government, by throwing all into confusion, that they might ascend to monarchy as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

† See Plato's Phædo, and the beginning of the *Symposium*. This Apollodorus was surnamed *Manicus* from his passionate enthusiasm.

of mere amusement, and that the benevolence and good humour suitable to such occasions would have a better effect.

When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo, were candidates for the consulship, and, besides the usual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had recourse to violence and murder, and civil war, it was proposed that Pompey should be appointed protector of the election: But Cato opposed this, and said that the laws should not derive their security from Pompey, but that Pompey should owe his to the laws.

However, when the consular power had been long suspended, and the *forum* was in some measure besieged by three armies, Cato, that things might not come to the worst, recommended to the senate to confer that power on Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwise invest him, and by that means to make a less evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus, therefore, an agent of Cato's moved in the senate, that Pompey should be created sole consul; adding, that his administration would either be of the greatest service to the state, or that, at least if the commonwealth must have a master, it would have the satisfaction of being under the auspices of the greatest man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, seconded the motion, intimating that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promised fair for a constitutional administration, and for the preservation of the city.

Pompey being thus elected consul, invited Cato to his house in the suburbs. He received him with the greatest caresses and acknowledgments, and entreated him to assist in his administration, and to preside at his councils. Cato answered, that he had neither formerly opposed Pompey out of private enmity, nor supported him of late out of personal favour; but that the welfare of the state had been his motive in both: that, in private, he would assist him with his council whenever he should be called upon; but that, in public, he should speak his sentiments, whether they might be in his favour or not. And he did not fail to do as he had told him: For, soon after, when Pompey proposed severe punishments and penalties against those who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the past should be overlooked, and the future only adverted to: for that, if he should

scrutinise into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to say where it would end; and should he establish penal laws, *ex post facto*, it would be hard that those who were convicted of former offences should suffer for the breach of those laws which were then not in being. Afterwards, too, when impeachments were brought against several persons of rank, and some of Pompey's friends amongst the rest, Cato, when he observed that Pompey favoured the latter, reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the discharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums should no longer be spoken in favour of the prisoners at the bar; and yet he gave in to the court a written encomium* on Munatius Plancus†, when he was upon his trial; but Cato, when he observed this, as he was one of the judges, stopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's being one of the judges; yet he was condemned notwithstanding. Indeed, Cato gave the criminals in general no small perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as in the latter case it was generally understood that they were unwilling to rely on their innocence, and by the same means were condemned: Nay, to object to the judgment of Cato, became a common handle of accusation and reproach.

Cæsar, at the same time that he was prosecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his interest in the city by all that friendship and munificence could effect. Pompey saw this, and waked, as from a dream, to the warnings of Cato: yet he remained indolent; and Cato, who perceived the political necessity of opposing Cæsar, determined himself to stand for the consulship, that he might thereby oblige him either to lay down his arms or discover his designs. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpicius‡, who was one of them, had himself de-

* Dion calls this an eulogium and a petition, ἐπαινον τε ἁμα αὐτῳ και την ἱκτειαν.

† Munatius Plancus, who in the Greek is mistakenly called Flaccus, was then tribune of the people. He was accused by Cicero, and defended by Pompey, but unanimously condemned.

‡ The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The latter, according to Dion, was chosen for his knowledge of the laws, and the former for his eloquence.

rived great advantages from the authority of Cato. On this account, he was censured as ungrateful; though Cato was not offended; "For what wonder," said he, "is it, "that what man esteems the greatest happiness, he "should not give up to another?" He procured an act in the senate, that no candidate should canvass by means of others. This exasperated the people, because it cut off at once the means of cultivating favour, and conveying bribes; and thereby rendered the lower order of citizens poor and insignificant. It was in some measure owing to this act that he lost the consulship; for he consulted his dignity too much to canvass in a popular manner himself; and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulse, in this case, is for some time attended with shame and sorrow both to the candidate and his friends; but Cato was so little affected by it, that he anointed himself to play at ball, and walked as usual after dinner with his friends in the *forum*, without his shoes or his tunic. Cicero, sensible how much Rome wanted such a consul, at once blamed his indolence with regard to courting the people on this occasion, and his inattention to future success; whereas he had twice applied for the prætorship. Cato answered, that his ill success in the latter case was not owing to the aversion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulsive measures used amongst them; while in an application for the consulship no such measures could be used; and he was sensible, therefore, that the citizens were offended by those manners which it did not become a wise man either to change for their sakes, or by repeating his application, to expose himself to the same ill success.

Cæsar had, at this time, obtained many dangerous victories over warlike nations; and had fallen upon the Germans, though at peace with the Romans, and slain three hundred thousand of them. Many of the citizens, on this occasion, voted a public thanksgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and said, "That Cæsar should be "given up to the nations he had injured, that his conduct "might not bring a curse upon the city; yet the gods," he said, "ought to be thanked, notwithstanding, that the "soldiers had not suffered for the madness and wickedness of their general, but that they had in mercy spared "the state." Cæsar, upon this, sent letters to the senate full of invectives against Cato. When they were read,

Cato rose with great calmness, and in a speech, so regular that it seemed premeditated, said, that, with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæsar's buffoonery, they deserved not to be answered: and then, laying open the whole plan of Cæsar's conduct, more like a friend, who knew his bosom counsels, than an enemy, he showed the senate that it was not the Britons* or the Gauls they had to fear, but Cæsar himself. This alarmed them so much, that Cæsar's friends were sorry they had produced the letters that occasioned it. Nothing, however, was then resolved upon: only it was debated concerning the propriety of appointing a successor to Cæsar; and when Cæsar's friends required, that, in case thereof, Pompey too should relinquish his army, and give up his provinces; "Now," cried Cato, "is coming "to pass the event that I foretold†. It is obvious, that "Cæsar will have recourse to arms; and that the power "which he had obtained by deceiving the people, he will "make use of to enslave them." However, Cato had but little influence out of the senate, for the people were bent on aggrandizing Cæsar; and even the senate, while convinced by the arguments of Cato, was afraid of the people.

When the news was brought that Cæsar had taken Ariminum, and was advancing with his army towards Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey, cast their eyes upon Cato, as on the only person who had foreseen the original designs of Cæsar. "Had ye then," said Cato, "attended to my counsels, you would neither now have

* Amiot thinks we ought here to read Γερμανων, and not Βρεττανων.

† But was not this very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain sacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæsar could not long remain unacquainted with what had passed in the senate; and Cato's observation on this occasion was not much more discreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a house. Cato, in our opinion, with all his virtue, contributed no less to the destruction of the commonwealth than Cæsar himself. Wherefore did he idly exasperate that ambitious man, by objecting against a public thanksgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in that part of Cato's conduct, which had but the shadow of virtue to support it. Nay, it is more than probable, that it was out of spite to Cæsar, that Cato gave the whole consular power to Pompey. It must be remembered that Cæsar had debauched Cato's sister.

" feared the power of one man, nor would it have been " in one man that you should have placed your hopes." Pompey answered, that " Cato had indeed been a better " prophet, but that he had himself acted a more friendly " part." And Cato then advised the senate to put every thing into the hands of Pompey; " For the authors of " great evils," he said, " knew best how to remove " them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were insufficient, and even the few that he had by no means hearty in his cause, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato, being determined to follow him, sent his youngest son to Munatius, who was in the country of the Brútii, and took the eldest along with him. As his family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper superintendant, he took Marcia again, who was then a rich widow; for Hortensius was dead, and had left her his whole estate. This circumstance gave Cæsar occasion to reproach Cato with his avarice, and to call him the mercenary husband: " For why," said he, " did he part with her, if he had " occasion for her himself? And, if he had not occasion " for her, why did he take her again? The reason is " obvious: It was the wealth of Hortensius. He lent " the young man his wife, that he might make her a rich " widow." But, in answer to this, one need only quote the passage of Euripides*,

Call Hercules a coward!

For it would be equally absurd to reproach Cato with covetousness, as it would be to charge Hercules with want of courage. Whether the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair, is another question. However, as soon as he had re-married Marcia, he gave her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is said that he neither cut his hair, nor shaved his beard, nor wore a garland; but was uniform in his dress, as in his anguish for his country. On which side soever victory might for a while declare, he changed not on that account his habit. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he passed over to Syracuse; and finding that Asinius Pollio was arrived at Messania with a detachment from the enemy, he sent to him to de-

* This passage is in the first act of the *Hercules Furens.*

mand the reason of his coming; but Pollio only answered his question by another, and demanded of Cato to know the cause of those revolutions. When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrhachium, "How mysterious," said he, "are the "ways of Providence! When Pompey neither acted upon "the principles of wisdom, nor of justice, he was invin-"cible; but now that he would save the liberties of his "country, his good fortune seems to have forsaken him. "Asinius," he said, "he could easily drive out of Sicily; "but as greater supplies were at hand, he was unwilling "to involve the island in war." He therefore advised the Syracusans to consult their safety, by joining the stronger party, and soon after set sail. When he came to Pompey, his constant sentiments were, that the war should be procrastinated in hopes of peace; for that, if they came to blows, which party soever might be successful, the event would be decisive against the liberties of the state. He also prevailed on Pompey, and the council of war, that neither any city subject to the Romans should be sacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and brought over many, by his humanity, to the interest of Pompey.

When he went into Asia, for the purpose of raising men and ships, he took with him his sister Servilia, and a little boy that she had by Lucullus; for since the death of her husband, she had lived with him; and this circumstance of putting herself under the eye of Cato, and of following him through the severe discipline of camps, greatly recovered her reputation; yet Cæsar did not fail to censure Cato even on her account.

Though Pompey's officers in Asia did not think that they had much need of Cato's assistance, yet he brought over the Rhodians to their interest; and there leaving his sister Servilia and her son, he joined Pompey's forces, which were now on a respectable footing both by sea and land. It was on this occasion that Pompey discovered his final views. At first he intended to have given Cato the supreme naval command; and he had then no fewer than five hundred men of war, beside an infinite number of open galleys and tenders. Reflecting, however, or reminded by his friends, that Cato's great principle was on all occasions to rescue the commonwealth from the government

of an individual; and that, if invested with so considerable a power himself, the moment Cæsar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey too to lay down his arms, and submit to the laws; he changed his intentions though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrhachium, Pompey himself addressed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their addresses, notwithstanding, were coldly received: But when Cato rose, and spoke upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory; when, by his impassionate action, he showed that he felt what he spoke, and that his eloquence took its glowing colours from his soul; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country, the plaudits of the army rent the skies; and the generals marched on in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious; though Cæsar's good genius availed him of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. But these things have been mentioned in the life of Pompey. Amid the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed that fatal and cruel ambition, which covered the field with the bodies of citizens, fallen by the hands of each other. When Pompey, in pursuit of Cæsar, proceeded to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrhachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command of fifteen cohorts only; for still he was afraid of his republican principles. If he should be vanquished, indeed, he knew he would be faithful to him; but if he should be victor, he knew, at the same time, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the sweets of absolute power. Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrhachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharsalia, Cato determined, in case of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognizance of the power of the tyrant; but if Pompey survived, he was resolved to keep his little forces to-

gether for him. With this design, he passed into Corcyra, where the fleet was stationed, and would there have resigned his command to Cicero, because he had been consul, and himself only prætor; but Cicero declined it, and set sail for Italy. Pompey the Younger resented this defection, and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and some others, but Cato prevented him by private expostulation; and thus saved the lives both of Cicero and the rest.

Cato, upon a supposition that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Lybia, prepared to follow him, together with his little force, after having first given, to such as chose it, the liberty of staying behind. As soon as he had reached the African coast, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who acquainted him with the death of his father. This greatly afflicted the little band; but as Pompey was no more, they unanimously resolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compassion to the honest men that had put their confidence in him, and because he would not leave them destitute in a foreign country, took upon him the command. He first made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had before shut their gates against Labienus. Here he understood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba; and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato, therefore, resolved to march to them by land, as it was now winter. He had got together a great many asses to carry water; and furnished himself also with cattle and other victualling provisions, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewise in his train some of the people called Psylli*, who obvi-

* These people were so called from their king Psyllus, whose tomb was in the region of the Syrtes. Varro tells us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they suffer them to be bitten by a venomous serpent; and if they survive the wound, they conclude that they are not spurious. Crates Pergamenus says, there were a people of this kind at Paros on the Hellespont, called Ophiogenes, whose touch alone was a cure for the bite of a serpent. Celsus observes, that the Psylli suck out the poison from the wound, not by any superior skill or quality, but because they have courage enough to do it. Some writers have asserted that the Psylli have an innate quality in their constitution that is poisonous to serpents; and that the smell of it throws them into a profound sleep. Pliny maintains, that every

ate the bad effects of the bite of serpents, by sucking out the poison; and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by their charms. During a continued march for seven days, he was always foremost, though he made use of neither horse nor chariot. Ever after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, he ate sitting*, intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

By the end of winter he reached the place of his designation in Lybia, with an army of near ten thousand men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad situation, by reason of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between them, and which led them to pay their court with great servility to Juba, whose wealth and power rendered him intolerably arrogant: For when he first gave Cato audience, he took his place between Scipio and Cato; but Cato took up his chair, and removed it to the other side of Scipio; thus giving him the most honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to his spirit on this occasion, but they have been ready enough to blame him for putting Philostratus in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in Sicily, though he did it entirely out of regard to philosophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he took care also to reconcile them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take the command upon him; and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it: but he said, "He would not transgress the laws, for

man has in himself a natural poison for serpents; and that those creatures will shun the human saliva, as they would boiling water. The fasting saliva, in particular, if it comes within their mouths, kills them immediately. If, therefore, we may believe that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent, we shall have no occasion to believe, at the same time, that the Psylli were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their success in these operations arose, as Celsus says, *Ex audacia usu confirmata*. However, they made a considerable trade of it; and we are assured, that they have been known to import the African serpents into Italy, and other countries, to increase their gain. Pliny says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that island.

* The consul Varro did the same after the battle of *Canne*. It was a ceremony of mourning.

" the sake of which he was waging war with the man who " trampled upon them; nor, when he was only *proprætor*, " take the command from a *proconsul*." For Scipio had been appointed proconsul; and his name inspired the generality with hopes of success; for they thought a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.

Scipio being established commander in chief, to gratify Juba, was inclined to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the sword, and to raze the city, as a place engaged in the interest of Cæsar: But Cato would not suffer it: he inveighed loudly in council against that design, invoking heaven and earth to oppose it; and, with much difficulty, rescued that people out of the hands of cruelty. After which, partly on their application, and partly at the request of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into the hands of Cæsar. Indeed, it was a place very convenient and advantageous to those who were masters of it; and Cato added much to its strength, as well as convenience; for he brought into it a vast quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. Then he armed all the youth of Utica, and posted them in the trenches under his eye: as for the rest of the inhabitants, he kept them close within the walls; but, at the same time, took great care that they should suffer no injury of any kind from the Romans. And by the supply of arms, of money, and provisions, which he sent in great quantities to the camp, Utica came to be considered as the principal magazine.

The advice he had before given Pompey, he now gave to Scipio, " Not to risk a battle with an able and expe- " rienced warrior, but to take the advantage of time, " which most effectually blasts the growth of tyranny." Scipio, however, in his rashness, despised these counsels, and once even scrupled not to reproach Cato with cowardice; asking him, " Whether he could not be satisfied " with sitting still himself within walls and bars, unless " he hindered others from taking bolder measures upon " occasion?" Cato wrote back, " That he was ready to " cross over into Italy with the horse and foot which he " had brought into Africa, and, by bringing Cæsar upon " himself, to draw him from his design against Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the proposal; and it was plain

that Cato now repented his giving up to him the command, since he saw that Scipio would take no rational scheme for the conduct of the war; and that if he should, beyond all expectation, succeed, he would behave with no kind of moderation to the citizens.—It was therefore Cato's judgment, and he often declared it to his friends, "That, by reason of the incapacity and rashness of the "generals, he could hope no good end of the war; and "that, even if victory should declare for them, and Cæsar "be destroyed, for his part, he would not stay at Rome, "but fly from the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who "already threw out insolent menaces against many of the "Romans."

The thing came to pass sooner than he expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with news that a great battle had been fought at Thapsus; that all was lost; that Cæsar was master of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba were fled with a few troops, which had escaped the general slaughter.

On the receipt of such tidings, the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, were in the utmost destraction, and could scarce keep themselves within the walls: But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the streets with great confusion and clamour, encouraged them in the best manner he could. To remove the violence of terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being possibly exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light he summoned to the temple of Jupiter the three hundred whom he made use of as a council. These were the Romans who trafficked there in merchandise and exchange of money; and to them he added all their senators and their sons. While they were assembling, he entered the house with great composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; and read a book which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the stores, the corn, the arms, and other implements of war, and the musters.

When they were met, he opened the matter, "With "commending the three hundred for the extraordinary "alacrity and fidelity they had shown in serving the pub-

"lic cause with their purses, their persons, and their "counsels; and exhorting them not to entertain different "views, or to endeavour to save themselves by flight. "For," continued he, "if you keep in a body, Cæsar "will not hold you in such contempt, if you continue the "war; and you will be more likely to be spared, if you "have recourse to submission. I desire you will consider "the point thoroughly, and what resolution soever you "may take, I will not blame you. If you are inclined "to go with the stream of fortune, I shall impute the "change to the necessity of the times: If you bear up "against their threatening aspect, and continue to face "danger in the cause of liberty, I will be your fellow-"soldier, as well as captain, till our country has experi-"enced the last issues of her fate: Our country, which is "not in Utica, or Adrymettum, but Rome; and she, in "her vast resources, has often recovered herself from "greater falls than this. Many resources we certainly have "at present; and the principal is, that we have to contend "with a man whose occasions oblige him to attend various "objects. Spain is gone over to young Pompey, and "Rome, as yet unaccustomed to the yoke, is ready to "spurn it from her, and to rise on any prospect of change. "Nor is danger to be declined. In this you may take your "enemy for a pattern, who is prodigal of his blood in the "most iniquitous cause; whereas, if you succeed, you will "live extremely happy; if you miscarry, the uncertain-"ties of war will be terminated with a glorious death. "However, deliberate among yourselves as to the steps "you shall take, first entreating heaven to prosper your "determinations, in a manner worthy the courage and "zeal you have already shown."

This speech of Cato's inspired some with confidence, and even with hope; and the generality were so much affected with his intrepid, his generous, and humane turn of mind, that they almost forgot their present danger; and looking upon him as the only general that was invincible and superior to all fortune, "They desired him to "make what use he thought proper of their fortunes and "their arms; for that it was better to die under his ban-"ner, than to save their lives at the expense of betraying "so much virtue." One of the council observed the expediency of a decree for enfranchising the slaves, and many

commended the motion: Cato, however, said, "He "would not do that, because it was neither just nor law-"ful; but such as their masters would voluntarily dis-"charge, he would receive, provided they were of proper "age to bear arms." This many promised to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered lists to be made out of all that should offer.

A little after this, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a small corps, concealed in the mountains, desired to know Cato's intentions; proposing to wait for him if he left Utica, or to assist him if he chose to stand a siege. Scipio also lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting an answer on the same account.

Cato thought it advisable to keep the messengers till he should know the final determination of the three hundred. All the patrician order, with great readiness enfranchised and armed their slaves; but as for the three hundred, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high interest, and whose slaves were a considerable part of their fortune, the impression which Cato's speech had made upon them did not last long. As some bodies easily receive heat, and as easily grow cold again when the fire is removed; so the sight of Cato warmed and liberalised these traders; but when they came to consider the matter among themselves, the dread of Cæsar soon put to flight their reverence for Cato, and for virtue: For thus they talked—"What are we, and "what is the man whose orders we refuse to receive? Is "it not Cæsar, into whose hands the whole power of the "Roman empire is fallen? And surely none of us is a "Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. Shall we, at a time "when their fears make all men entertain sentiments be-"neath their dignity—shall we, in Utica, fight for the "liberty of Rome, with a man against whom Cato and "Pompey the Great durst not make a stand in Italy? "Shall we enfranchise our slaves to oppose Cæsar, who "have no more liberty ourselves than that conqueror is "pleased to leave us? Ah! wretches that we are! Let us "at least know ourselves, and send deputies to intercede "with him for mercy." This was the language of the most moderate among the three hundred: but the greatest part of them lay in wait for the patricians, thinking, if they could seize upon them, they should more easily make their

peace with Cæsar. Cato suspected the change, but made no remonstrances against it: he only wrote to Scipio and Juba, to keep at a distance from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be depended upon.

In the mean time a considerable body of cavalry, who had escaped out of the battle, approached Utica, and dispatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous resolution; for some were for joining Juba, some Cato, and others were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the business of the three hundred, and quietly take down the names of such as offered to set free their slaves, without pretending to use the least compulsion. Then he went out of the town, taking the senators with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He entreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators; nor to choose Juba, rather than Cato, for their general, but to join and mutually contribute to each other's safety, by entering the city which was impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and every thing necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with prayers and tears; the officers went to consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the three hundred, who, he said, behaved in a very disorderly manner, and were raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the senators thought their condition desperate, and gave into the utmost expressions of grief: But Cato endeavoured to encourage them, and requested the three hundred to have patience.

Nor was there any thing moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. The answer from them was, "That they "had no desire to be in the pay of Juba; nor did they "fear Cæsar while they should have Cato for their general; "but to be shut up with Uticans, Phœnicians, who would "change with the wind, was a circumstance which they "could not bear to think of: For," said they, "if they are "quiet now, yet when Cæsar arrives, they will betray us "and conspire our destruction. Whoever, therefore, de-"sires us to range under his banners there, must first expel "the Uticans, or put them to the sword, and then call us

"into a place clear of enemies and barbarians." These proposals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and savage: however, he mildly answered, "That he would "talk with the three hundred about them." Then entering the city again, he applied to that set of men, who now no longer, out of reverence to him, dissembled or palliated their designs: They openly expressed their resentment, that any citizen should presume to lead them against Cæsar, with whom all contest was beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, some went so far as to say, "That "the senators ought to be detained in the town till Cæsar "came." Cato left this pass as if he heard it not; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the three hundred would take some desperate step with respect to the senators; and he therefore went in pursuit of them with his friends. As he found they were got under march, he rode after them. It was with pleasure they saw him approach; and they exhorted him to go with them, and save his life with theirs. On this occasion, it was said that Cato shed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the senators. He even turned the heads of some of their horses, and laid hold of their armour, till he prevailed with them to stay, at least, that day, to secure the retreat of the senators.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to some, and the citadel to others, the three hundred were under great apprehensions of being punished for their inconstancy, and sent to beg of Cato, by all means, to come and speak to them: But the senators would not suffer him to go. They said they would never let their guardian and deliverer come into the hands of such perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the clearest light, and commanded the highest love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident, than that the most perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long resolved to put an end to his being, and yet he submitted to inexpressible labours, cares, and conflicts, for others; that, after he had secured their lives, he might relinquish his own: For his intentions, in that

respect were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

Therefore, after having satisfied the senators as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the three hundred. "They thanked him for the favour, and entreated him "to trust them and make use of their services; but as "they were not Cato's, nor had Cato's dignity of mind, "they hoped he would pity their weakness. They told "him they had resolved to send deputies to Cæsar, to "intercede first and principally for Cato. If that request "should not be granted, they would have no obligation "to him for any favour to themselves; but as long as they "had breath, would fight for Cato." Cato made his acknowledgments for their regard, and advised them to send immediately to intercede for themselves. "For me," said he, "intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn "suppliants, and for those who have done an injury to "beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered "through life, and superior in the thing I wished to be; "for in justice and honour I am Cæsar's superior. Cæsar "is the vanquished, the falling man, being now clearly "convicted of those designs against his country which he "had long denied."

After he had thus spoken to the three hundred, he left them; and being informed, that Cæsar was already on his march to Utica, "Strange!" said he, "it seems "he takes us for men." He then went to the senators, and desired them to hasten their flight while the cavalry remained He likewise shut all the gates, except that which leads to the sea; appointed ships for those who were to depart; provided for good order in the town; redressed grievances; composed disturbances, and furnished all who wanted with the necessary provisions for the voyage. About this time Marcus Octavius* approached the place with two legions; and, as soon as he had encamped, sent to desire Cato to settle with him the business of the command. Cato gave the messengers no answer, but turning to his friends, said "Need we wonder that our cause has not prospered, "when we retain our ambition on the very brink of ruin."

* The same who commanded Pompey's fleet.

In the mean time, having intelligence that the cavalry, at their departure, were taking the goods of the Uticans as lawful prize, he hastened up to them, and snatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremost; upon which they all threw down what they had got, and retired in silence, dejected and ashamed. He then assembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the three hundred, desiring them not to exasperate Cæsar against those Romans, but to act in concert with them, and consult each other's safety. After which he returned to the sea-side to look upon the embarkation: And such of his friends and acquaintances as he could persuade to go, he embraced, and dismissed with great marks of affection. His son was not willing to go with the rest; and he thought it was not right to insist on his leaving a father he was so fond of. There was one Statyllius*, a young man, who affected a firmness of resolution above his years, and, in all respects, studied to appear like Cato, superior to passion. As this young man's enmity to Cæsar was well known, Cato desired him by all means to take ship with the rest; and, when he found him bent upon staying, he turned to Apollonides the Stoic, and Demetrius the Peripatetic, and said, "It "is your business to reduce this man's extravagance of "mind, and to make him see what is for his good." He now dismissed all except such as had business of importance with him; and upon these he spent that night and great part of the day following.

Lucius Cæsar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the three hundred, desired Cato to assist him in composing a suitable speech. "And "for you," said he, "I shall think it an honour to be-"come the most humble suppliant, and even to throw "myself at his feet." Cato, however, would not suf-"fer it: "If I choose to be indebted," said he, "to "Cæsar for my life, I ought to go in person, and with-"out any mediator; but I will not have any obligation "to a tyrant in a business by which he subverts the "laws. And he does subvert the laws, by saving, as

* This brave young Roman was the same who, after the battle of Philippi, went through the enemy, to enquire into the condition of Brutus's camp, and was slain in his return by Cæsar's soldiers.

" a master, those over whom he has no right of autho-
" rity. Nevertheless, we will consider, if you please,
" how to make your application most effectual in behalf
" of the three hundred."

After he had spent some time with Lucius Cæsar upon this affair, he recommended his son and friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave, and retired to his own house. His son and the rest of his friends being assembled there, he discoursed with them a considerable time; and, among other things, charged the young man to take no share in the administration: "For the state of affairs," said he, "is such
" that it is impossible for you to fill any office in a man-
" ner worthy of Cato; and to do it otherwise would be
" unworthy of yourself."

In the evening he went to the bath; where bethinking himself of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides, and said, "Have you taken down the pride of that young
" man? And is he gone without bidding us farewell?"
" No indeed," answered the philosopher, "we have taken
" a great deal of pains with him: but he continues as
" lofty and resolute as ever; he says he will stay, and
" certainly follow your conduct." Cato then smiled, and said, "That will soon be seen."

After bathing, he went to supper, with a large company, at which he sat as he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia; for (as we observed above) he never now lay down except to sleep. All his friends, and the magistrates of Utica, supped with him. After supper, the wine was seasoned with much wit and learning; and many questions in philosophy were proposed and discussed. In the course of the conversation, they came to the paradoxes of the Stoics (for so their maxims are commonly called), and to this in particular, "That the good man
" only is free, and all bad men are slaves*." The Peripatetic, in pursuance of his principles, took up the argument against it: Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than usual, carried on a most spirited discourse to a considerable length. From the tenor of it, the whole company perceived, he had determined to put and end to his

* This was not only the sentiment of the Stoics, but of Socrates.

being, to extricate himself from the hard conditions on which he was to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy silence the consequence of his discourse, he endeavoured to recover the spirits of his guests, and to remove their suspicions, by talking of their present affairs, and expressing his fears both for his friends and partizans who were upon their voyage; and for those who had to make their way through dry deserts, and a barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, he took his usual evening walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards such orders as the occasion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour with which he embraced his son and his friends at this parting, recalled all their suspicions. He lay down, and began to read Plato's book on the Immortality of the Soul; but before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his sword was not at the head of his bed, where it used to hang; for his son had taken it away while he was at supper. He therefore called his servant, and asked him, who had taken away his sword? As the servant made no answer, he returned to his book; and, after a while, without any appearance of haste or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the sword, he ordered him to bring it. The servant still delayed to bring it, and he had patience till he had read out his book; but then he called his servants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. At last he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and raising his voice still higher, he cried, "I am betrayed and delivered naked to my ene-" my, by my son and my servants." His son then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him, had recourse to tears and entreaties: But Cato rose up, and, with a stern and awful look, thus expressed himself:— "When, and where, did I show any signs of distraction, "that nobody offers to dissuade me from any purpose I "may seem to be wrong in, but I must be hindered from "pursuing my resolutions, thus disarmed? And you, "young man, why do you not bind your father? bind his "hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes, he "may find me utterly incapable of resistance? As to a "sword, I have no need of it to dispatch myself; for if

"I do but hold my breath awhile, or dash my head "against the wall, it will answer the purpose as well."

Upon his speaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To these philosophers he addressed himself in a milder tone:—"Are you also "determined to make a man of my age live whether he "will or no? And do you sit here in silence to watch me? "Or do you bring any arguments to prove, that, now "Cato has no hopes from any other quarter, it is no dis-"honour to beg mercy of his enemy? Why do not you "begin a lecture to inform me better, that, dismissing "the opinions in which you and I have lived, we may, "through Cæsar's means, grow wiser, and so have a still "greater obligation to him? As yet I have determined "nothing with respect to myself; but I ought to have it "in my power to put my purpose in execution, when I "have formed it: And, indeed, I shall, in some measure, "consult with you, for I shall proceed in my deliberations "upon the principles of your philosophy. Be satisfied "then, and go tell my son, if persuasion will not do, not "to have recourse to constraint."

They made no answer, but went out; the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The sword was sent in by a little boy. He drew and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, "Now," said he, "I am "master of myself." Then laying down the sword, he took up the book again, and, it is said, he perused the whole twice*. After which he slept so sound, that he was heard by those who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas, whom he generally employed about public business. The latter he sent to the port, to see whether all the Romans had put off to sea, and bring him word.

In the mean time he ordered the physician to dress his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his servant. This was some consolation to the whole house, for now they thought he had dropt his design against his life. Soon after this, Butas returned, and informed them that they were all got off except Crassus, who had been

* Yet this very dialogue condemns suicide in the strongest terms.

detained by some business, but that he intended to embark very soon, though the wind blew hard, and the sea was tempestuous. Cato, at this news, sighed in pity of his friends at sea, and sent Butas again, that if any of them happened to have put back, and should be in want of any thing, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the birds began to sing*, and Cato fell again into a little slumber. Butas, at his return, told him all was quiet in the harbour: Upon which Cato ordered him to shut the door, having first stretched himself on the bed, as if he designed to sleep out the rest of the night. But after Butas was gone, he drew his sword, and stabbed himself under the breast. However, he could not strike hard enough on account of the inflammation in his hand, and therefore did not presently expire, but in the struggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that stood by.

The noise alarming the servants, they cried out, and his son and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out: At the same time he was alive, and looked upon them.—They were struck with inexpressible horror. The physician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured, he put them up, and began to sew up the wound: But as soon as Cato came a little to himself, he thrust away the physician, tore open the wound, plucked out his own bowels, and immediately expired.

In less time than one would think all the family could be informed of this sad event, the three hundred were at the door; and a little after all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice, calling him "their benefactor, their saviour, the only free and unconquered man." This they did, though at the same time they had intelligence that Cæsar was approaching. Neither fear, nor the flattery of the conqueror, nor the factious disputes that prevailed among themselves, could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and, after a splendid procession, buried it near the sea; where now stands his statue, with a sword in the right hand.

* ——— Ὁ ορνις κατελαμβανε την ἑω καλων. *Athenæ.* l. x.

This great business over, they began to take measures for saving themselves and their city. Cæsar had been informed by persons who went to surrender themselves, that Cato remained in Utica, without any thoughts of flight; that he provided for the escape of others indeed, but that himself, with his friends and his son, lived there without any appearance of fear or apprehension. Upon these circumstances he could form no probable conjecture.

However, as it was a great point with him to get him into his hands, he advanced to the place with his army, with all possible expedition; And when he had intelligence of Cato's death, he is reported to have uttered this short sentence: "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou "couldest envy me the glory of saving thy life." Indeed, if Cato had deigned to owe his life to Cæsar, he would not so much have tarnished his own honour, as have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event is uncertain; but, in all probability, Cæsar would have inclined to the merciful side.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His son suffered nothing from Cæsar; but, it is said, he was rather immoral, and that he was censured for his conduct with respect to women. In Cappadocia he lodged at the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handsome wife; and as he staid there a longer time than decency could warrant, such jokes as these were passed upon him: "Cato goes the morrow after the thirtieth "day of the month."—"Porcius and Marphadates are "two friends who have but one *soul;*" for the wife of Marphadates was named *Psyche*, which signifies *soul.*—"Cato is a great and generous man, and has a royal *soul.*" Nevertheless, he wiped off all aspersions by his death: For fighting at Philippi, against Octavius Cæsar and Antony, in the cause of liberty, after his party gave way, he disdained to fly. Instead of slipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their strength with Cato; he animated such of his troops as had stood their ground, and fell, acknowledged by his adversaries a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her virtues. She was not inferior to her father, either in prudence or in fortitude; for being married to Brutus, who killed Cæsar, she was trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, and put a period to her life, in a manner worthy

of her birth and of her virtue; as we have related in the life of Brutus.

As for Statyllius, who promised to imitate the pattern of Cato, he would have dispatched himself soon after him, but was prevented by the philosophers. He approved himself afterwards to Brutus a faithful and able officer, and fell in the battle of Philippi.

AGIS.

IT is not without appearance of probability that some think the fable of Ixion designed to represent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud instead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their embrace: the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue; and governed by different impulses, actuated by emulation and all the variety of passions, they produce nothing pure and genuine; the whole issue is of a preposterous kind. The shepherds in Sophocles say of their flocks,

> ——These are our subjects, yet we serve them,
> And listen to their mute command.

The same may be truly affirmed of those great statesmen who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become slaves to gain the name of magistrates and rulers. As in a ship those at the oar can see what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders; so they who take their measures of administration only with a view to popular applause, are called governors indeed, but, in fact, are no more than slaves of the people.

The complete the honest statesman, has no farther regard to the public opinion, than as the confidence it gains him facilitates his designs, and crowns them with success. An ambitious young man may be allowed, indeed, to value himself upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theophrastus says, when they first begin to grow in persons of that age and disposition, are cherished and strengthened by praise, and afterwards increase in proportion as the love of glory increases. But an immoderate passion for fame, in all

affairs is dangerous, and in political matters destructive: For, joined to great authority, this passion drives all that are possessed with it into folly and madness, while they no longer think that glorious which is good, but account whatever is glorious to be also good and honest. Therefore, as Phocion said to Antipater, when he desired something of him inconsistent with justice, "You cannot have "Phocion for your friend and flatterer too;" this, or something like it, should be said to the multitude, "You "cannot have the same man both for your governor and "your slave:" For that would be no more than exemplifying the fable of the serpent: The tail, it seems, one day quarrelled with the head, and, instead of being forced always to follow, insisted that it should lead in its turn. Accordingly, the tail undertook the charge, and, as it moved forward at all adventures, it tore itself in a terrible manner; and the head which was thus obliged, against nature, to follow a guide that could neither see nor hear, suffered likewise in its turn. We see many under the same predicament, whose object is popularity in all the steps of their administration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce such disorders as they can neither redress nor restrain.

These observations on popularity were suggested to us by considering the effects of it in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of disposition, of education, and political principles, none could exceed them: yet they were ruined, not so much by an immoderate love of glory, as by a fear of disgrace, which, in its origin, was not wrong. They had been so much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were ashamed to be behindhand with them in the marks of attention: On the contrary, by the most acceptable services, they always studied to outdo the honours paid them, and being still more honoured on account of those services, the affection between them and the people became at last so violent, that it forced them into a situation wherein it was in vain to say, "Since we are wrong, it would be a shame to "persist." In the course of the history, these observations occur.

With those two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they strove to enlarge

the privileges of the people, and by restoring the just and glorious institutions which had long fallen into disuse, they became equally obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the superiority which riches gave them, and to which they had long been accustomed. These Spartans were not, indeed, brothers; but their actions were of the same kindred and complection; the source of which was this:

When the love of money made its way into Sparta, and brought avarice and meanness in its train on the one hand, on the other profusion, effeminacy, luxury; that state soon deviated from its original virtue, and sunk into contempt till the reign of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion, the son of Eudamidas, the sixth in descent from Agesilaus, distinguished by his expedition into Asia, and for his eminence in Greece. Agesilaus was succeeded by his son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandonium in Italy*. Agis was the eldest son of Archidamus, and being slain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother Eudamidas. He was succeeded by another Archidamus his son, and that prince by another Eudamidas, his son likewise, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now speaking. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of another branch of the family of the Agiadæ, the eighth in descent from that Pausanias who conquered Mardonius at Platæa. Pausanias was succeeded by his son Plistonax, and he by another Pausanias, who being banished to Tegea, left his kingdom to his eldest son Agesipolis. He, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes. Agesipolis, after a short reign, died without issue, and Cleomenes, who succeeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldest son Acrotatus, left surviving another son Cleonymus, who, however, did not succeed to the kingdom, which fell to Areus the son of Acrotatus, and grandson of Cleomenes. Areus being slain at Corinth, the crown descended to his son Acrotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus. He left his wife pregnant, and as the child proved to be a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus

* We know of no such place as *Mandonium*. Probably we should read *Mandurium*, which is a city of Japygia, mentioned by the geographers. *Cellarius*, p. 902.

took the guardianship of him; and his charge dying in his minority, the crown fell to him. This prince was not agreeable to his people: For, though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable than the rest for his deviation from the customs of his ancestors. He had long been conversant in the courts of the Asiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus, and he had the indiscretion to introduce the pomp of those courts into a Grecian state, into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almost all the kings who reigned before him since the great Agesilaus, in goodness of disposition and dignity of mind: For though brought up in the greatest affluence, and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition, under his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richest persons in Lacedæmonia, yet before he reached the age of twenty, he declared war against pleasure; and, to prevent any vanity which the beauty of his person might have suggested, he discarded all unnecessary ornament and expense, and constantly appeared in a plain Lacedæmonian cloak. In his diet, his bathing and in all his exercises, he kept close to the Spartan simplicity, and he often used to say that the crown was no farther an object of desire to him, than as it might enable him to restore the laws and ancient discipline of his country.

The first symptoms of corruption and distemper in their commonwealth, appeared at the time when the Spartans had entirely destroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and silver into Lacedæmon. Nevertheless, the Agrarian law established by Lycurgus still subsisting, and the lots of land descending undiminished from father to son, order and equality in some measure remained, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus, a man of great authority in Sparta, though at the same time factious and ill-natured, being appointed one of the *ephori*, and having a quarrel with his son, procured a law that all men should have liberty to alienate * their

* It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure laws empowering the nobility to alienate their estates, and by that means to reduce their power; for the nobility in those times were no better than so many petty tyrants.

estates in their lifetime, or to leave them to whom they pleased at their death. It was to indulge his private resentment, that this man proposed the decree, which others accepted and confirmed from a motive of avarice, and thus the best institution in the world was abrogated. Men of fortune now extended their landed estates without bounds, nor scrupling to exclude the right heirs; and property quickly coming into a few hands, the rest of the people were poor and miserable. The latter found no time or opportunity for liberal arts and exercises, being obliged to drudge in mean and mechanic employments for their bread, and consequently looking with envy and hatred on the rich. There remained not above seven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which, perhaps, one hundred had estates in land. The rest of the city was filled with an insignificant rabble, without property or honour, who had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For these reasons Agis thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact it was, to bring the citizens again to an equality, and by that means to replenish Sparta with respectable inhabitants. For this purpose he sounded the inclinations of his subjects. The young men listened to him with a readiness far beyond his expectation: They adopted the cause of virtue with him, and for the sake of liberty, changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But most of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus, as a fugitive slave, when brought back, is of that of his master. They inveighed, therefore, against Agis for lamenting the present state of things, and desiring to restore the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand, Lysander the son of Libys, Mandroclidas the son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus, not only came into his glorious designs, but co-operated with them.

Lysander had great reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man understood the interests of Greece better than Mandroclidas; and with his shrewdness and capacity he had a proper mixture of spirit. As for Agesilaus, he was uncle to the king, and a man of great eloquence, but at the same time effeminate and avaricious. However, he was animated to this enterprise by his son Hippome-

don, who had distinguished himself in many wars and was respectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his person. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the thing which really persuaded Agesilaus to embark in the design, was the greatness of his debts, which he hoped to be cleared off by a change in the constitution.

As soon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured, with his assistance, to bring his own mother into the scheme.—She was sister to Agesilaus, and by her extensive connections, her wealth, and the number of people who owed her money, had great influence in Sparta, and a considerable share in the management of public affairs. Upon the first intimation of the thing, she was quite astonished at it, and dissuaded the young man as much as possible, from measures which she looked upon as neither practicable nor salutary: But Agesilaus showed her that they might easily be brought to bear, and that they would prove of the greatest utility to the state. The young prince, too, entreated his mother to sacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition: "It is impossible," said he, "for me ever "to vie with other kings in point of opulence. The do-"mestics of an Asiatic grandee, nay, the servants of the "stewards of Ptolemy and Seleucus were richer than all "the Spartan kings put together. But if by sobriety, "by simplicity of provision for the body, and by great-"ness of mind, I can do something which shall far ex-"ceed all their pomp and luxury, I mean the making an "equal partition of property among all the citizens, I "shall really become a great king, and have all the ho-"nour such actions demand."

This address changed the opinions of the women.—They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue as it were by inspiration, and, in their turn, hastened Agis to put his scheme into execution. They sent for their friends, and recommended the affair to them; and they did the same to the other matrons: For they knew that the Lacedæmonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public business, than the men are with the domestic. This, indeed, was the principal obstruction to Agis's enterprise. Great part of the wealth of

Sparta was now in the hands of the women; consequently they opposed the reformation, not only because they knew they must forfeit those gratifications in which their deviation from the severer paths of sobriety had brought them to place their happiness; but because they saw they must also lose that honour and power which follow property.—They, therefore, applied to Leonidas the other king, and desired him, as the older man, to put a stop to the projects of Agis.

Leonidas was inclined to serve the rich; but as he feared the people, who were very desirous of the change, he did not oppose it openly. Privately, however, he strove to blast the design, by applying to the magistrates, and invidiously represented, "That Agis offered the poor a "share in the estates of the rich, as the price of absolute "power; and that the distribution of lands, and cancel-"ling of debts, was only a means to purchase guards for "himself, not citizens for Sparta."

Agis, however, having interest to get Lysander elected one of the *ephori*, took the first opportunity to propose his *rhetra* to the senate; according to which, "Debtors "were to be released from their obligations; and lands "to be divided in the following manner:—Those that "lay between the Valley of Pellene and Mount Taygetus, as far as Malea and Sellasia, were to be distributed "in four thousand five hundred equal lots; fifteen thousand lots were to be made of the remaining territory, "which should be shared among the neighbouring inhabitants who were able to bear arms: As to what lay "within the limits first mentioned, Spartans were to have "the preference; but if their number fell short, it should "be made up out of strangers, who were unexceptionable "in point of person, condition, and education. These "were to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four "hundred, some of two hundred, who were to eat together, and keep to the diet and discipline enjoined by "the laws of Lycurgus."

The decree thus proposed in the senate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lysander summoned an assembly of the people; and he with Mandroclidas and Agesilaus, in their discourse to the citizens, entreated them not to suffer the few to insult the many, or to see with unconcern the majesty of Sparta trodden under foot.

They desired them to recollect the ancient oracles which bade them beware of the love of money, as a vice the most ruinous to Sparta, as well as the late answer from the temple of Pasiphæ, which gave them the same warning. —For Pasiphæ had a temple and oracle at Thalamiæ*. Some say, this Pasiphæ was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a son named Ammon. Others suppose her to be Cassandra†, the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have the name of *Pasiphæ*‡, from her answering the questions of all that consulted her. —But Phylarchus says, she was no other than Daphne, the daughter of Amyclas, who flying from the solicitations of Apollo, was turned into a laurel, and afterwards honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be that as it may, it was affirmed that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.

Last of all, king Agis entered the assembly, and, after a short speech, declared, that he would contribute largely to the institution he recommended. He would first give up to the community his own great estate, consisting of arable and pasture land, and of six hundred talents in money;—Then his mother and grandmother, all his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would follow his example.

The people were astonished at the magnificence of the young man's proposal, and rejoiced, that now, after the space of three hundred years, they had at last found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this, Leonidas began openly and vigorously to oppose the new regulations. He considered that he should be obliged to do the same with his colleague, without finding the same acknowledgments

* Those who consulted this oracle lay down to sleep in the temple, and the goodness revealed to them the object of their inquiries in a dream. *Cic. de Div.* l. i.

† Pausanias would incline one to think that this was the goddess Ino. "On the road between Oetylus and Thalamiæ," says he, "is "the temple of Ino. It is the custom of those who consult her to "sleep in her temple, and what they want to know is revealed to "them in a dream. In the court of the temple are two statues of "brass, one of *Paphia* [it ought to be *Pasiphæ*], the other of the sun. "That which is in the temple is so covered with garlands and fil- "lets that it is not to be seen; but it is said to be of brass."

‡ Διὰ τὸ τᾶσι φαίνειν μαντεῖα.

from the people; that all would be equally under a necessity of giving up their fortunes, and that he who first set the example, would alone reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether he thought Lycurgus "a just and good man?" Agis answering in the affirmative, Leonidas thus went on—"But did Lycurgus ever "order just debts to be cancelled, or bestow the freedom "of Sparta upon strangers? Did he not rather think his "commonwealth could not be in a salutary state, except "strangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He "did not wonder that Leonidas, who was educated in a "foreign country, and had children by an intermarriage "with a Persian family, should be ignorant that Lycurgus, "in banishing money, banished both debts and usury "from Lacedæmon. As for strangers, he excluded only "those who were not likely to conform to his institutions, "or fit to class with his people: For he did not dislike "them merely as strangers; his exceptions were to their "manners and customs, and he was afraid that, by mixing with his Spartans, they would infect them with "their luxury, effeminacy and avarice. Terpander, "Thales, and Pherecydes, were strangers, yet because "their poetry and philosophy moved in concert with the "maxims of Lycurgus, they were held in great honour "at Sparta. Even you commend Ecprepes, who when he "was one of the *ephori*, retrenched the two strings which "Phrynis the musician had added to the seven of the "harp; you commend those who did the same by Timotheus*; and yet you complain of our intention to "banish superfluity, pride, and luxury, from Sparta. Do "you think that in retrenching the swelling and supernumerary graces of music they had no farther view, and "that they were not afraid the excess and disorder would "reach the lives and manners of the people, and destroy "the harmony of the state?"

From this time the common people followed Agis. But the rich entreated Leonidas not to give up their cause; and they exerted their interest so effectually with the senate, whose chief power lay in previously determining what laws

* Timotheus the Milesian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and musician. He added even a twelfth string to the harp, for which he was severely punished by the sage Spartans, who concluded that luxury of sound would effeminate the people.

should be proposed to the people, that they carried it against the *rhetra* by a majority of one. Lysander, however, being yet in office, resolved to prosecute Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every descendant of Hercules to have children by a woman that is a stranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to settle in a foreign country. He instructed others to allege these things against Leonidas, while he with his colleagues watched for a sign from heaven. It was the custom for the *ephori* every ninth year, on a clear star-light night, when there was no moon, to sit down, and in silence observe the heavens. If a star happened to shoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of some crime against the gods, and suspended them till they were re-established by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lysander, affirming that the sign had appeared to him, summoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witnesses to prove that he had two children by an Asiatic woman, whom one of Seleucus's lieutenants had given him to wife; but that, on her conceiving a mortal aversion to him, he returned home against his will, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this suit, he persuaded Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva in the *Chalciæcus**, as a suppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the intercession. He was re-summoned to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was deposed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lysander's time expired, and he quitted his office. The *ephori* of the ensuing year listened to the supplication of Leonidas, and consented to restore him. They likewise began a prosecution against Lysander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and distribution of lands, which those magistrates agreed to contrary to law. In this danger, they persuaded the two kings to unite their interest, and to despise the machinations of the *ephori*. "These magistrates," said they, "have "no power but what they derive from some difference "between the kings. In such a case they have a right to

* Minerva had a temple at Sparta, entirely of brass.

" support with their suffrage the prince whose measures
" are salutary, against the other who consults not the
" public good; but when the kings are unanimous, no-
" thing can overrule their determinations. To resist
" them is then to fight against the laws: For, as we
" said, they can only decide between the kings in case of
" disagreement; when their sentiments are the same, the
" *ephori* have no right to interpose."

The kings, prevailed upon by this argument, entered the place of assembly with their friends, where they removed the *ephori* from their seats, and placed others in their room. Agesilaus was one of these new magistrates. They then armed a great number of the youth, and released many out of prison; upon which, their adversaries were struck with terror, expecting that many lives would be lost. However, they put not one man to the sword: on the contrary, Agis understanding that Agesilaus designed to kill Leonidas in his flight to Tegea, and had planted assassins for that purpose on the way, generously sent a party of men whom he could depend upon, to escort him, and they conducted him safe to Tegea.

Thus the business went on with all the success they could desire, and they had no farther opposition to encounter. But this excellent regulation, so worthy of Lacedæmon, miscarried through the failure of one of its pretended advocates, the vile disease of avarice in Agesilaus. He was possessed of a large and fine estate in land, but at the same time deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts, nor willing to part with his land, he represented to Agis, that if both his intentions were carried into execution at the same time, it would probably raise great commotions in Sparta; but if he first obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterwards quietly and readily consent to the distribution of lands. Agesilaus drew Lysander, too, into the same snare. An order, therefore, was issued for bringing in all bonds (the Lacedæmonians call them *claria*), and they were piled together in the market-place, and burnt. When the fire began to burn, the usurers and other creditors walked off in great distress: But Agesilaus, in a scoffing way, said, " He never saw a brighter or more glorious
" flame."

The common people demanded that the distribution of lands should also be made immediately, and the kings gave orders for it; but Agesilaus found out some pretence or other for delay, till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achæans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for succours: For they expected that the Ætolians would take the route through the territory of Megara, and enter Peloponnesus. Aratus, general of the Achæans, assembled an army to prevent it, and wrote to the *ephori* for assistance.

They immediately sent Agis upon that service; and that prince went out with the highest hopes, on account of the spirit of his men and their attachment to his person. They were most of them young men in very indifferent circumstances, who being now released from their debts, and expecting a division of lands if they returned from the war, strove to recommend themselves as much as possible to Agis. It was a most agreeable spectacle to the cities, to see them march through Peloponnesus without committing the least violence, and with such discipline that they were scarce heard as they passed. The Greeks said one to another, "With what excellent order and decency must the armies under Agesilaus, Lysander, or Agesilaus of old, have moved, when we find such exact obedience, such reverence in these Spartans to a general who is, perhaps, the youngest man in the whole army!" Indeed, this young prince's simplicity of diet, his love of labour, and his affecting no show either in his dress or arms above a private soldier, made all the common people, as he passed, look upon him with pleasure and admiration: But his new regulations at Lacedæmon displeased the rich, and they were afraid that he might raise commotions every where among the commonalty, and put them upon following the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he showed a proper courage and spirit without any enthusiastic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "That they should give battle, and not suffer the war to enter the gates of Peloponnesus. He would do, however, what Aratus thought most expedient, because he was the older man, and general of the Achæans, whom he came not to dictate to, but to assist in the war."

It must be acknowledged that Bato* of Sinope relates it in another manner. He says, Aratus was for fighting, and Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes by way of apology for himself upon this point. That general tells us, "That as the husbandmen "had almost finished the harvest, he thought it better to "let the enemy pass, than to hazard by a battle, the loss "of the whole country." Therefore when Aratus determined not to fight, and dismissed his allies with compliments on their readiness to serve him, Agis, who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where, by this time, internal troubles and changes demanded his presence.

Agesilaus, still one of the *ephori*, and delivered from the pressure of debt which had weighed down his spirits, scrupled no act of injustice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation was not come, and insisting on the people's paying supernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid, however, of revenge from those he had injured, and seeing himself hated by all the world, he thought it necessary to maintain a guard, which always attended him to the senate-house. As to the kings, he expressed an utter contempt for one of them, and the respect he paid the other he would have understood to be, rather on account of his being his kinsman, than his wearing the crown: Besides, he propagated a report, that he should be one of the *ephori* the year following. His enemies, therefore, determined to hazard an immediate attempt against him, and openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea, and placed him on the throne. The people saw it with pleasure; for they were angry at finding themselves deceived with respect to the promised distribution of lands. Agesilaus had hardly escaped their fury, had not his son Hippomedon, who was held in great esteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

The kings both took sanctuary, Agis in *Chalciæcus*, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was against the latter that Leonidas was most incensed: and therefore passed Agis by, he went with a party of soldiers to seize

* He wrote the history of Persia.

Cleombrotus, whom he reproached, in terms of resentment, with conspiring against him, though honoured with his alliance, depriving him of the crown, and banishing him his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to say, but sat in the deepest distress and silence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done her father as done to herself. When Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, she left him to console her father in his misfortune. While he was in sanctuary, she staid with him, and when he retired she attended him in his flight, sympathizing with his sorrow, and full of resentment against Cleombrotus. But when the fortunes of her father changed, she changed too. She joined her husband as a suppliant, and was found sitting by him with great marks of tenderness, and her two children, one on each side, at her feet. The whole company were much struck at the sight, and they could not refrain from tears when they considered her goodness of heart and such superior instances of affection.

Chelonis then pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled hair, thus addressed Leonidas: "It was not, "my dear father, compassion for Cleombrotus which put "me in this habit, and gave me this look of misery. My "sorrows took their date with your misfortunes and your "banishment, and have ever since remained my familiar "companions. Now you have conquered your enemies, "and are again king of Sparta, should I still retain these "ensigns of affliction, or assume festival and royal orna-"ments, while the husband of my youth, whom you gave "me, falls a victim to your vengeance? If his own sub-"mission, if the tears of his wife and children cannot pro-"pitiate you, he must suffer a severer punishment for his "offences than you require—he must see his beloved wife "die before him: For how can I live and support the "sight of my own sex, after both my husband and my fa-"ther have refused to hearken to my supplication—when "it appears that, both as a wife and a daughter, I am "born to be a miserable with my family? If this poor "man had any plausible reasons for what he did, I ob-"viated them all by forsaking him to follow you. But "you furnish him with a sufficient apology for his mis-"behaviour, by shewing that a crown is so great and "desirable an object, that a son-in-law must be slain, and

"a daughter utterly disregarded, where that is in the "question."

Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her cheek on her husband's head, and with an eye dim and languid with sorrow, looked round on the spectators. Leonidas consulted his friends upon the point, and then commanded Cleombrotus to rise and go into exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not leave so affectionate a father, who had been kind enough to grant her her husband's life. Chelonis, however, would not be persuaded. When her husband was risen from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and after having paid due homage at the altar where they had taken sanctuary, she went with him into banishment: So that, had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love of false glory, he must have thought exile, with such a woman, a greater happiness than a kingdom without her.

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the *ephori* removed, and others put in their place, Leonidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power. At first he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and resume his share in the government; "For the people," he said, "thought he "might well be pardoned, as a young man ambitious of "honour; and the rather, because they, as well as he, "had been deceived by the craft of Agesilaus." But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, used to give Agis their company, for they were his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and, after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed a great deal of plate and other rich furniture of Agesistrata, and he hoped that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. On this account he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the *ephori*, his colleagues, to do the same.

As Agis spent the rest of his time in the temple, and only went out to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. Therefore, one day on his return, they met him with a great appearance of friendship, and as they conducted him on his way, conversed with much

freedom and gaity, which his youth and their intimacy with him seemed to warrant. But when they came to the turning of a street which led to the prison, Amphares, by virtue of his office, arrested him. "I take you, Agis," said he, "into custody, in order to your giving account to "the *ephori* of your administration." At the same time, Demochares, who was a tall strong man, wrapped his cloak about his head, and dragged him off. The rest, as they had previously concerted the thing, pushed him on behind, and no one coming to his rescue or assistance, he was committed to prison.

Leonidas presently came with a strong band of mercenaries, to secure the prison without; and the *ephori* entered it, with such senators as were of their party. They began, as in a judicial process, with demanding what he had to say in defence of his proceedings; and as the young prince only laughed at their dissimulation, Amphares told him, "They would soon make him weep for his presumption." Another of the *ephori*, seeming inclined to put him in a way of excusing himself and getting off, asked him, "Whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not forced him "into the measures he took?" But Agis answered, "I "was forced by no man; it was my attachment to the "institutions of Lycurgus, and my desire to imitate him, "which made me adopt his form of government." Then the same magistrate demanded, "Whether he re-"pented of what he had done?" and his answer was, "I shall never repent of so glorious a design, though I "see death before my eyes." Upon this they passed sentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the *decade*, which is a small apartment in the prison where they strangle malefactors. But the officers durst not touch him, and the very mercenaries declined it; for they thought it impious to lay violent hands on a king. Demochares seeing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to punish them. At the same time, he laid hold on Agis himself, and thrust him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into custody, and there was a great concourse of people at the prison-gates with lanthorns and torches. Among the number who resented these proceedings, were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out and

begging that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full assembly: But this, instead of procuring him a respite, hastened his execution; for they were afraid he would be rescued in the night, if the tumult should increase.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears; upon which, he said, "My friend, dry up your tears: for, as I suffer innocently, I am in a better condition than those who condemn me contrary to law and justice." So saying he cheerfully offered his neck to the executioner.

Amphares then going to the gate, Agesistrata threw herself at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendship. He raised her from the ground, and told her, "No farther violence should be offered her son, nor should he now have any hard treatment." He told her, too, she might go in and see her son, if she pleased. She desired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares assured her there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be locked again, and Archidamia to be first introduced. She was very old, and lived in great honour and esteem among the Spartans. After she was put to death, he ordered Agesistrata to walk in: She did so, and beheld her son extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. She assisted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her son, and kissing him, she said, "My son, thy too great moderation, lenity, and humanity, have ruined both thee and us." Amphares, who from the door saw and heard all that passed, went up in great fury to Agesistrata, and said, "If you approved your son's actions, you shall also have his reward." She rose up to meet her fate, and said, with a sigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of Sparta!"

When these events were reported in the city, and the three corpses carried out, the terror the sad scene inspired was not so great, but that the people openly expressed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares: For they were persuaded that there had not been such a train of villanous and impious actions at Sparta, since the Dorians first inhabited Peloponnesus. The majesty of the kings of Sparta had been held in such

veneration even by their enemies, that they had scrupled to strike them, when they had opportunity for it in battle. Hence it was, that in the many actions between the Lacedæmonians and the other Greeks, the former had lost only their king Cleombrotus, who fell by a javelin at the battle of Leuctra a little before the times of Philip of Macedon. As for Theopompus, who as the Messenians affirm, was slain by Aristomenes, the Lacedæmonians deny it, and say he was only wounded. That, indeed, is a matter of some dispute: but it is certain that Agis was the first king of Lacedæmon put to death by the *ephori:* and that he suffered only for engaging in an enterprise that was truly glorious and worthy of Sparta; though he was of an age at which even errors are considered as pardonable. His friends had more reason to complain of him, than his enemies, for saving Leonidas, and trusting his associates, in the undesigning generosity and goodness of his heart.

CLEOMENES,

AFTER Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the same fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince saved himself by a timely retreat. However, his wife Agiatis, who was newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own house, and given to his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was not quite come to years of maturity, but his father was not willing that any other man should have the lady; for she was daughter to Gylippus, and heiress to his great estate; and in beauty, as well as happiness of temper and conduct, superior to all the women of Greece. She left nothing unattempted, to prevent her being forced into this match, but found all her efforts ineffectual. Therefore, when she was married to Cleomenes, she made him a good and affectionate wife, though she hated his father. Cleomenes was passionately fond of her from the first, and his attachment to his wife made him sympathise with her on the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often ask her for the history of that unfortunate prince, and listen with great attention to her account of his sentiments and designs.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatness of mind. Nature had, moreover, disposed him

to temperance and simplicity of manners, as much as Agis; but he had not his calmness and moderation. His spirit had an ardour in it; and there was an impetuosity in his pursuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He thought it most glorious to reign over a willing people; but, at the same time, he thought it not inglorious to subdue their reluctancies, and bring them against their inclinations into what was good and salutary.

He was not satisfied with the prevailing manners and customs of Sparta. He saw that ease and pleasure were the great objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and if nobody gave him any disturbance, chose to spend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury; that individuals, entirely actuated by self-interest, paid no attention to the business of the state, any further than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the prospect still more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to strong exercises, and strict temperance, to persevering fortitude, and universal equality, since the proposing of these things cost Agis his life.

It is said too, that Cleomenes was instructed in philosophy, at a very early period of life, by Sphærus the Borysthenite*, who came to Lacedæmon, and taught the youth with great diligence and success. Sphærus was one of the principle disciples of Zeno the Citiean†; and it seems that he admired the strength of genius he found in Cleomenes, and added fresh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed that when Leonidas of old was asked, "What he thought of the poetry of Tyrtæus?" he said, "I think it well calculated to excite the courage of "our youth; for the enthusiasm with which it inspires "them, makes them fear no danger in battle." So the Stoic philosophy‡ may put persons of great and fiery spirits upon enterprises that are too desperate; but in those of a

* This Sphærus was born towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and flourished under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Lærtius has given us a catalogue of his works, which were considerable. He was the scholar of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthus.

† He was so called to distinguish him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Laconia, who flourished about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citiean. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town in Cyprus.

‡ From its tendency to inspire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of Providence.

grave and mild disposition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was designed.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he observed that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleasure, and utterly neglected the public interest. The common people, on account of the meanness of their circumstances, had no spirit for war, or ambition to instruct their children in the Spartan exercises. Cleomenes himself had only the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the *ephori*. He therefore soon began to think of changing the present posture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by such an affection as the Spartans called *inspiration*. Him he first sounded; inquiring of him what kind of prince Agis was; by what steps, and with what associates, he came into the way he took. Xenares at first consented readily enough to satisfy his curiosity, and gave him an exact narrative of all the proceedings: But when he found that Cleomenes interested himself deeply in the affair, and took such an enthusiastic pleasure in the new schemes of Agis, as to desire to hear them again and again, he reproved his distempered inclinations, and at last entirely left his company. However, he did not acquaint any one with the cause of their misunderstanding: but only said, "Cleomenes knew very "well." As Xenares so strongly opposed the king's project, he thought others must be as little disposed to come into it; and therefore he concerted the whole matter by himself. In the persuasion that he could more easily effect his intended change in time of war than in peace, he embroiled his country with the Achæans, who had indeed given sufficient occasion of complaint: For Aratus who was the leading man among them, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his administration, to reduce all Peloponnesus to one body. This was the end he had in view in his numerous expeditions, and in all the proceedings of government, during the many years that he held the reigns in Achaia. And, indeed, he was of opinion, that this was the only way to secure Peloponnesus against its enemies without. He had succeeded with most of the states of that peninsula; the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, and such of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedæmonian interest, were all that stood out. Upon the death of Leonidas, he commenced hostilities against the

Arcadians, particularly those who bordered upon the Achæans; by this means designing to try how the Lacedæmonians stood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he despised him as a young man without experience.

The *ephori*, however, sent Cleomenes to seize Athenæum*, near Belbina. This place is one of the keys of Laconia, and was then in dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes accordingly took it, and fortified it. Aratus made no remonstrance, but marched by night to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. However, the persons who had promised to betray those places to him, found their hearts fail them, when they came to the point; and he retired undiscovered, as he thought. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him, in a familiar way, desiring to know, "Whither he marched the night before?" Aratus answered, "That, understanding his design to fortify "Belbina, the intent of his last motion was to prevent "that measure." Cleomenes humorously replied, "I "am satisfied with the account of your march; but "should be glad to know where those torches and lad-"ders were marching."

Aratus could not help laughing at the jest; and he asked what kind of man this young prince was? Democrates, a Lacedæmonian exile, answered, "If you design "to do any thing against the Spartans, you must do it "quickly, before the spurs of this cockrel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horse, and three hundred foot, was now posted in Arcadia. The *ephori*, apprehensive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed: But finding that, in consequence of this retreat, Aratus had taken Caphyæ, they ordered him to take the field again. Cleomenes made himself master of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos: Whereupon the Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle: But Aratus, intimidated by this instance of the young princes spirit, dissuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat exposed Aratus to reproach among the Achæans, and to scorn and contempt among the Spartans, whose army consisted not of more than five thousand

* A temple of Minerva.

men. Cleomenes, elevated with this success, began to talk in a higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expression of one of their ancient kings, who said "The Lacedæmonians seldom inquire the number "of their enemies, but the place where they could be "found."

After this he went to the assistance of the Eleans, against whom the Achæans had now turned their arms. He attacked the latter at Lycæum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout; not only spreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many prisoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was of the number of the slain. Aratus, availing himself in the best manner of the opportunity, with the troops that attended him in his flight, marched immediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by surprise, took it, and secured it for the Achæans.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly dispirited at this loss, opposed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He therefore bethought himself of calling Archidamus, the brother of Agis, from Messene, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged: For he imagined that the power of the *ephori* would not be so formidable, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan constitution, was complete, and had its proper weight in the scale. The party that had put Agis to death, perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he should be established on the throne, took this method to prevent it: They joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and even assisted him in his return; but they assassinated him immediately after. Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus thinks, or whether his friends persuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot take upon us to say. The greatest part of the blame, however, fell upon those friends, who, if he gave his consent, were supposed to have teased him into it.

By this time he was resolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution; and therefore he bribed the *ephori* to permit him to renew the war. He gained also many others by the assistance of his mother Cratesiclea, who liberally supplied him with money, and joined in his schemes of glory. Nay, it is said, that, though

disinclined to marry again, for her son's sake she accepted a man who had great interest and authority among the people.

One of his first operations was the going to seize Leuctra, which is a place within the dependencies of Megalopolis. The Achæans hastened to its relief, under the command of Aratus; and a battle was fought under the walls, in which part of the Lacedæmonian army was beaten. But Aratus stopping the pursuit at a defile which was in the way, Lysiadas*, the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry under his command to pursue the advantage they had gained; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other inclosures, where they were forced to break their ranks, and fell into great disorder. Cleomenes, seeing his opportunity, commanded the Tarentines and Cretans to fall upon them; and Lysiadas, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and slain. The Lacedæmonians thus encouraged, returned to the action with shouts of joy, and routed the whole Achæan army. After a considerable carnage, a truce was granted the survivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lysiadas to be brought to him. He clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon its head; and, in this attire, he sent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was that Lysiadas who restored liberty to the city in which he was an absolute prince, and united it to the Achæan league.

Cleomenes, greatly elated with this victory, thought, if matters were once entirely at his disposal in Sparta, the Achæans would no longer be able to stand before him. For this reason he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law, Megistonus, that the yoke of the *ephori* ought to be broken, and an equal division of property to be made; by means of which equality, Sparta would resume her ancient valour, and once more rise to the empire of Greece. Megistonus complied, and the king then took two or three other friends into the scheme.

About that time, one of the *ephori* had a surprising dream, as he slept in the temple of Pasiphæ. He thought, that,

* In the text it is *Lydiadas*. But Polybius calls him *Lysiadas*; so does Plutarch in another place.

in the court where the *ephori* used to sit for the dispatch of business, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the sanctuary, which said, "This is best for Sparta." The magistrate related this vision of his to Cleomenes, who at first was greatly disconcerted, thinking that some suspicion had led him to sound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the case, he was the more confirmed in his purpose; and taking with him such of the citizens as he thought most likely to oppose it, he marched against Heræa and Alsæa, two cities belonging to the Achæan league, and took them. After this, he laid in store of provisions at Orchomenus, and then besieged Mantinea. At last he so harassed the Lacedæmonians by a variety of long marches, that most of them desired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only. By the way he communicated his design to such of them as he believed most attached to his interest, and advanced slowly, that he might come upon the *ephori* as they were at supper.

When he approached the town, he sent Euryclidas before him to the hall where those magistrates used to sup, upon pretence of his being charged with some message relative to the army. He was accompanied by Thericion and Phœbis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call *Samothracians**. These were at the head of a small party. While Euryclidas was holding the *ephori* in discourse, the others ran upon them with their drawn swords. They were all slain but Agesilaus, and he was then thought to have shared the same fate; for he was the first man that fell; but in a little time he conveyed himself silently out of the room, and crept into a little building which was

* All the commentators agree that Σαμοθρακας is a corruption. Palmerias proposes to read Πυθιας, *Pythians*. So at Sparta they called two persons whom the king sent to consult the oracle of Apollo, and who used to eat at the king's table. But Πυθιας is very distant in sound from Σαμοθρακας. The editor of the former English translation, proposes by no means unhappily, to read ὁμοθραπτας, which is synonymous to συντροφας. Proper regard ought to be paid, too, to the conjecture of Bryan and Du Soul, who offer us Σαμαντορας. This signifies *persons who give the signal of battle, præfects, generals.*

the temple of FEAR. This temple was generally shut up, but then happened to be open. When he was got in, he immediately barred the door. The other four were dispatched outright; and so were above ten more who came to their assistance. Those who remained quiet received no harm; nor were any hindered from departing the city. Nay, Agesilaus himself was spared, when he came the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedæmonians have not only temples dedicated to FEAR, but also to DEATH, to LAUGHTER, and many of the passions. Nor do they pay homage to *Fear*, as one of the noxious and destroying demons, but they consider it as the best cement of society. Hence it was, that the *ephori* (as Aristotle tells us), when they entered upon their office, caused proclamation to be made, that the people should shave their upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the necessity of having recourse to severity. As for the shaving of the upper lip, in my opinion, all the design of that injunction is, to teach the youth obedience in the smallest matters. And it seems to me, that the ancients did not think that valour consists in the exemption from fear; but on the contrary, in the fear of reproach, and the dread of infamy: For those who stand most in fear of the law, act with the greatest intrepidity against the enemy; and they who are most tender of their reputation, look with the least concern upon other dangers. Therefore one of the poets said well,

> Ingenious shame resides with fear.

Hence Homer makes Helen say to her father-in-law, Priamus,

> Before thy presence, father, I appear
> With conscious shame and reverential fear. *Pope.*

And, in another place, he says, the Grecian troops

> With fear and silence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence in vulgar minds, is generally the concomitant of fear. And therefore, the Lacedæmonians placed the temple of fear near the hall where the *ephori* used to eat, to show that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next day Cleomenes proscribed eighty of the citizens, whom he thought it necessary to expel; and he removed all the seats of the *ephori* except one, in which he designed to sit himself, to hear causes, and dispatch other business. Then he assembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had done. His speech was to this effect: "The administration was put by Lycurgus in the hands "of the kings and the senate; and Sparta was governed "by them a long time, without any occasion for other "Magistrates: But, as the Messenian war was drawn out "to a great length, and the kings, having the armies "to command, had not leisure to attend to the decision "of causes at home, they pitched upon some of their "friends to be left as their deputies for that purpose, "under the title of *ephori*, or *inspectors*. At first they be-"haved as substitute sand servants to the kings; but, by "little and little, they got the power into their own "hands, and insensibly erected their office into an inde-"pendent magistracy*. A proof of this, is a custom "which has obtained till this time, that when the *ephori* "sent for the king, he refused to hearked to the first and "second message, and did not attend them till they sent "a third. Asteropus was the first of the *ephori*, who "raised their office to that height of authority many ages "after their creation. While they kept within the bounds "of moderation, it was better to endure than to remove "them; but when, by their usurpations, they destroyed "the ancient form of government, when they deposed "some kings, put others to death without any form of "trial, and threatened those princes who desire to see the "divine constitution of their country in its original lustre, "they became absolutely unsupportable. Had it been "possible, without the shedding of blood, to have exter-"minated those pests which they had introduced into La-"cedæmon; such as luxury, superfluous expense, debts, "usury, and those more ancient evils, poverty and riches, "I should then have thought myself the happiest of kings. "In curing the distempers of my country, I should have

* When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompous found it necessary to curb it, by the institution of the *ephori*. But they were not as Cleomenes says; they were, in their first establishment, ministers to the kings.

" been considered as the physician whose lenient hand " heals without giving pain. But for what necessity has " obliged me to do, I have the authority of Lycurgus, " who, though neither king nor magistrate, but only a " private man, took upon him to act as a king*, and " appeared publicly in arms: The consequence of which " was, that Charilaus, the reigning prince, in great con- " sternation, fled to the altar. But being a mild and pa- " triotic king, he soon entered into the designs of Ly- " curgus, and accepted his new form of government. " Therefore, the proceedings of Lycurgus are an evidence " that it is next to impossible to new-model a constitution " without the terror of an armed force: For my own " part, I have applied that remedy with great moderation; " only ridding myself of such as opposed the true interest " of Lacedæmon. Among the rest, I shall make a distri- " bution of all the lands, and clear the people of their " debts. Among the strangers, I shall select some of " the best and ablest, that they may be admitted citizens " of Sparta, and protect her with their arms; and that we " may no longer see Laconia a prey to the Ætolians and " Illyrians for want of a sufficient number of inhabitants " concerned for its defence."

When he had finished his speech, he was the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His father-in-law Megistonus, and his other friends, followed his example: The rest of the citizens did the same; and then the land was divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons whom he had driven into exile; and declared that they should all be recalled when tranquillity had once more taken place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the best of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raised a body of four thousand foot, whom he taught to use the two-handed pike instead of the javelin, and to hold their shields by a handle, and not by a ring as before. Then he applied himself to the education of the youth, and formed them with all the strictness of the Lacedæmonian discipline; in the course of which he was much assisted by Sphærus. Their schools of exercise, and their refectories, were soon brought into

* Lycurgus never assumed or aspired to regal authority; and Cleomenes mentions this only to take off the odium from himself.

that good order, which they had of old; some being reduced to it by compulsion, but the greatest part coming voluntarily into that noble training peculiar to Sparta. However, to prevent any offence that might be taken at the name of monarchy, he made his brother Euclidas his partner to the throne; and this was the only time that the Spartans had too kings of the same family.

He observed that the Achæans, and Aratus, the principal man among them, were persuaded that the late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unsettled state; and that he would not quit the city while it was in such a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both its honour and utility, to show the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In consequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he spread desolation, and made a very considerable booty. In one of his last marches, he seized a company of comedians who were on the road from Messene; upon which, he built a stage in the enemy's country; proposed a prize of forty *minæ* to the best performer, and spent one day in seeing them. Not that he set any great value on such diversions, but he did it by way of insult upon the enemy, to show his superiority by this mark of contempt: For, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one which had not a train of players, jugglers, singers, and dancers of both sexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public shows or feasts, except on the late occasion, were ever seen in his camp. The young men passed the greatest part of their time in the exercises, and the old men in teaching them. The hours of leisure were amused with cheerful discourse, which had all the smartness of laconic repartee. This kind of amusement had those advantages which we have mentioned in the life of Lycurgus.

The king himself was the best teacher. Plain and simple in his equipage and diet, assuming no manner of pomp above a common citizen, he set a glorious example of sobriety. This was no small advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addressed themselves to other kings, they did not so much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and spirit of ostentation; their difficulty of access, and harshness of behaviour to all who had business at their courts: But when they applied

to Cleomenes, who not only bore the title, but had all the great qualities of a king, they saw no purple or robes of state, no rich carriages, no gauntlets of pages or door-keepers to be run. Nor had they their answer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of secretaries*; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them and offer them his hand. He received them with a cheerful countenance, and entered into their business with the utmost ease and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts; and they declared he was the only worthy descendant of Hercules.

His common supper was short and truly Laconic. There were only couches for three people; but when he entertained ambassadors or strangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little better furnished by the servants. Not that any curious dessert was added; only the dishes were larger, and the wine more generous: For he blamed one of his friends for setting nothing before strangers but the coarse cake and black broth, which they eat in their common refectories. "When we have strangers to "entertain," he said, "we need not be such very exact La-"cedæmonians." After supper, a three-legged stand† was brought in, upon which were placed a brass‡ bowl full of wine, two silver pots that held about a || pint and a half a-piece, and a few cups of the same metal. Such of the guests as were inclined to drink, made use of these vessels, for the cup was not pressed upon any man against his will. There was no music or other extrinsic amusements; nor was any such thing wanted. He entertained his company very agreeably with his own conversation; sometimes asking questions, and sometimes telling stories. His serious discourse was perfectly free from moroseness; and his mirth from petulence and rusticity. The arts which other princes used of drawing men to their purpose by bribery and corruption, he looked upon as both iniquitous and impolitic: But to engage and fix people in his interest by the charms of conversation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king: For he thought this the true difference between a hireling and a

* In the text it is γραμματιων, by *billets;* but probably it should be read γραμματεων, *secretaries*, there being no instances in antiquity that have come to our knowledge, of answers in writing to a personal application. † τριπους. ‡ κρατηρ. || δικοτυλος.

friend; that the one is gained by money, and the other by an obliging behaviour.

The Mantineans were the first who applied for his assistance. They admitted him into their city in the night; and having with his help expelled the Achæan garrison, put themselves under his protection. He re-established their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the same day to Tegea. From thence he fetched a compass through Arcadia, and marched down to Pheræ in Achaia; intending by this movement either to bring the Achæans to a battle, or make them look upon Aratus in a mean light, for giving up the country, as it were, to his destroying sword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus had all the authority. The Achæans assembled their forces, and encamped at Dymeæ* near Hecatombœum; upon which Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was thought a rash step for him to take post between Dymeæ which belonged to the enemy, and the Achæan camp. However, he boldly challenged the Achæans, and indeed forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them; killed great numbers upon the spot, and took many prisoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achæan garrison, and then put the town into the hands of the Eleans.

When the Achæan affairs were in this ruinous state, Aratus, who used to be general every other year†, refused the command, though they pressed him strongly to accept it. But certainly it was wrong, when such a storm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another. The first demands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achæan deputies‡ moderate enough; afterwards he insisted on having the command himself. In other matters, he said, he

* Polybius calls it Dymæ.

† Ενοθως παρ' ενιαυτον αει ςρατηγειν. The former English translator renders this, *who used to continue general two years together;* and Dacier to the same sense *qui avoit accoutume d' eire capitaine general tous les deux ans.* But they are both under a great mistake, παρ' ενιαυτον does certainly signify *every other year.* So in Polybius, παρα τεναρτην ἡμεραν, *every fourth day;* and in Aristotle, παρα μηνα τριτον, *every third month.*

‡ The two French translators, and the English one employed by Tonson, change μετρια here into ὁ μετρια, without any necessity, or pretence of authority for it. We do not see why Cleomenes might not, in the first conditions he proposed, possibly demand something less of the Achæans than their allowing him to be commander in chief, and governor of all Greece.

should not differ with them, for he would restore them both the prisoners and their lands. The Achæans agreed to a pacification on these conditions, and invited Cleomenes to Lerna, where a general assembly of their state was to be held. But Cleomenes hastening his march too much, heated himself, and then very imprudently drank cold water; the consequence of which was, that he threw up a great quantity of blood, and lost the use of his speech. He therefore sent the Achæans the most respectable of the prisoners, and putting off the meeting, retired to Lacedæmon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, she might have recovered out of her present distress, and have maintained herself against the insolence and rapaciousness of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared or distrusted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected success. He thought it intolerable that a young man newly sprung up, should rob him at once of the honour and power which he had been in possession of for three-and-thirty years, and come into a government which had been growing so long under his auspices. For this reason, he first tried what his interest and powers of persuasion would do to keep the Achæans from closing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him, by their admiration of the great spirit of Cleomenes, and their opinion that the demands of the Spartans were not unreasonable, who only desired to bring Peloponnesus back to its ancient model. Aratus then undertook a thing which would not have become any man in Greece, but in him was particularly dishonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct, both in the cabinet and the field—He called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponnesus with Macedonians, though in his youth he had expelled them, and rescued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy to all kings, and was equally hated by them. Antigonus, in particular, he loaded with a thousand reproaches, as appears from the writings he has left behind him*. He boasts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties, in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garrison; and yet he brought those very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, into his own house, and even into the women's apartment. At the same time, he could not bear that a Spartan king, a descendant of Hercules,

* Aratus wrote a history of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

who wanted only to restore the ancient policy of his country, to correct its broken harmony, and bring it back to the sober Doric tone which Lycurgus had given it*; he could not bear that such a prince should be declared general of the Sicyonians and Triccæans†. While he avoided the coarse cake and the short cloak, and what he thought the greatest grievance in the whole system of Cleomenes, the abolishing of riches, and the making poverty a more supportable thing, he made Achaia truckle to the diadem and purple of Macedonians, and of Asiatic grandees. To shun the appearance of submission to Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to the divinity of Antigonus, and with a garland on his head, sung *pæans* in honour of a rotten Macedonian. These things we say not in accusation of Aratus (for in many respects he was a great man and worthy of Greece), we mean only to point out with compassion the weakness of human nature, which in dispositions the best formed to virtue, can produce no excellence without some taint of imperfection.

When the Achæans assembled again at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them, the Greeks entertained great hopes of peace. But Aratus, who had already settled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his obliging manner of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted of the people, proposed, "That he should take three "hundred hostages for the security of his person, and en- "ter the town alone; or, if he did not approve of that "proposal, should come to the place of exercise without "the walls, called *Cyllarabium*‡, and treat there at the "head of his army." Cleomenes remonstrated that these proceedings were very unjust: He said, "They should "have made him these proposals at first, and not now, "when he was come to their gates, distrust and shut him "out." He therefore wrote the Achæans a letter on this subject, almost filled with complaints of Aratus; and the applications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives against the king of Sparta. The consequence of

* The music, like the architecture of the Dorians, was remarkable for its simplicity.

† This, probably, should be Tritæans. Triteæ was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; but Tricca, which was in Thessaly, could hardly be so.

‡ From Cyllarbus, the son of Sthenelus.

this was, that the latter quickly retired, and sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans. This herald, according to Aratus, was sent not to Argos, but to Ægium*, in order that the Achæans might be entirely unprepared.—There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achæan league, and many towns were ready to fall off: For the common people hoped for an equal distribution of lands, and to have their debts cancelled; while the better sort in general were displeased at Aratus, and some of them highly provoked at his bringing the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia; where he first took Pellene by surprise, and dislodged the Achæan garrison. Afterwards he made himself master of Pheneum and Penteleum. As the Achæans were apprehensive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they sent a body of cavalry and some mercenaries from Argos, to guard against any measure tending that way, and went themselves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos.—Upon this, Cleomenes hoping, what really proved the case, that, if he could come suddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes assembled to partake of the diversions, he should throw all into the greatest confusion, marched up to the walls by night, and seized the quarter called *Aspis*, which lay above the theatre, notwithstanding its difficulty of access. This struck them with such terror that not a man thought of making any resistance; they agreed to receive a garrison, and gave twenty of the citizens as hostages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and following the standard of Cleomenes as their general.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince: For the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their interest; and Pyrrhus, one of the ablest generals in the world, though he forced his way into the town, could not hold it, but lost his life in the attempt, and had great part of his army cut in pieces. Hence the dispatch and keenness of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they who before had laughed at him for declaring he would tread in the steps of Solon and Lycurgus in the cancelling of debts, and in an equal division of property, were now

* This was a maritime town of Achaia on the Corinthian Bay.—The intention of Cleomenes was to take it by surprise, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of the war.

fully persuaded that he was the sole cause of all the change in the spirit and success of the Spartans. In both respects, they were so contemptible before, and so little able to help themselves, that the Ætolians made an inroad into Laconia, and carried off fifty thousand slaves: On which occasion, one of the old Spartans said, "The enemy had done them a "kindness, in taking such a heavy charge off their hands." Yet they had no sooner returned to their primitive customs and discipline, than, as if Lycurgus himself had restored his polity, and invigorated it with his presence, they had given the most extraordinary instances of valour and obedience to their magistrates, in raising Sparta to its ancient superiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponnesus.

Cleonæ and Phlius* came in the same tide of success with Argos. Aratus was then making an inquisition at Corinth, into the conduct of such as were reported to be in the Lacedæmonian interest: But when the news of their late losses reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and wanted to get rid of the Achæans†, he was not a little alarmed. In this confusion he could think of no better expedient than that of calling the citizens to council, and in the mean time, he stole away to the gate. A horse being ready for him, there, he mounted and fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were in such haste to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that, Aratus tells us, they killed or spoiled all their horses.—He acquaints us also, that Cleomenes highly blamed the people of Corinth for suffering him to escape. Nevertheless, he adds, that Megistonus came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large sums if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achæan garrison. He answered, "That affairs did not "then depend upon him, but he must be governed by "their circumstances." So Aratus himself writes.

Cleomenes, in his march from Argos, added the Trœzenians, the Epidaurians, and Hermionians, to the number of his friends and allies, and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel,

* Towns between Argos and Corinth.

† In the printed text it is Αχαιων απαλλαγηναι βυλομενων, and the Latin and French translators have followed it, rendering it to this sense, *and the Achæans were hastening home:* But two manuscripts give us ὑγρομενην, which is to be referred to πογιν, before; and, with the former English translator, we choose to follow that reading.

which the Achæans refused to surrender. However, he sent for the friends and stewards of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his house and effects in that city. He likewise sent again to that general by Tritymallus, the Messenian, and proposed that the citadel should be garrisoned half with Achæans and half with Lacedæmonians; offering, at the same time, to double the pension he had from Ptolemy king of Egypt. As Aratus, instead of accepting these conditions, sent his son and other hostages to Antigonus, and persuaded the Achæans to give orders that the citadel of Corinth should be put in the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and in pursuance of a decree of the Corinthians, seized on the whole estate of Aratus. After Antigonus had passed Gerania*, with a great army, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify the Onæan mountains† than the Isthmus, and by the advantage of his post to tire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with a veteran phalanx. Antigonus was greatly perplexed at this plan of operations: For he had neither laid in a sufficient quantity of provisions, nor could he easily force the pass by which Cleomenes had sat down. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponnesus by the port of Lachæum‡, but was repulsed with loss.

Cleomenes was much encouraged with this success, and his troops went to their evening's refreshment with pleasure. Antigonus, on the other hand, was extremely dispirited; for he saw himself in so troublesome a situation, that it was scarcely possible to find any resources, which were not extremely difficult. At last he determined to move to the promontory of Heræum, and from thence to transport his troops in boats to Sicyon; but that required a great deal of time, and very considerable preparations. However, the evening after, some of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by sea, being sent to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and proposed to invite him to that city. Aristotle was the author of the defection; and he had found no great difficulty in persuading the people into it, because Cleomenes had not cancelled their debts, as he had given them room

* Mountain between Megara and Corinth.

† This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as Mount Citheron. *Strab.* l. vii. They were called ὄρη ονεια, the Mountains of Asses.

‡ One of the harbours at Corinth.

to hope. Upon this Aratus, with fifteen hundred men, whom he had from Antigonus, sailed to Epidaurus: But Aristotle, not waiting for him, assembled the townsmen, and, with the assistance of Timoxenus and a party of Achæans from Sicyon, attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes getting intelligence of this about the second watch of the night, sent for Megistonus, and in an angry tone ordered him to the relief of Argos: For he it was who had principally undertaken for the obedience of the Argives, and, by that means, prevented the expulsion of such as were suspected. Having dispatched Megistonus upon this business, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to dispel the fears of the Corinthians, assuring them it was no great thing that had happened at Argos, but only an inconsiderable tumult. Megistonus got into Argos, and was slain in a skirmish there; the garrison were hard pressed, and messenger after messenger sent to Cleomenes. Upon this he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themselves masters of Argos, would block up the passages against him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleasure, and besiege Sparta itself, which was left without defence. He therefore decamped from Corinth; the consequence of which was the loss of the town; for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garrison there. In the mean time, Cleomenes, having collected his forces which were scattered in their march, attempted to scale the walls of Argos; but failing in that enterprise, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called *Aspis*, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garrison, which still held out against the Achæans. After this he took some other quarters of the city by assault; and ordering the Cretan archers to ply their bows, cleared the streets of the enemy. But when he saw Antigonus descending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city, he thought it impossible to maintain his post. He had now no other resource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loss. Thus, after achieving the greatest things in a short space of time, and making himself master of almost all Peloponnesus in one campaign, he lost all in less time than he gained it; some cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others surrendering themselves not long after to Antigonus.

Such was the ill success of this expedition: And what

was no less a misfortune, as he was marching home, messengers from Lacedæmon met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife. His affection and esteem for Agiatis was so great, that, amidst the current of his happiest success, he could not stay from her a whole campaign, but often repaired to Sparta. No wonder, then, that a young man, deprived of so beautiful and virtuous a wife, was extremely affected with the loss. Yet his sorrow did not debase the dignity of his mind. He spoke in the same accent; he preserved the same dress and look; he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the security of Tegea.

Next morning he entered Lacedæmon; and after paying a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himself to the concerns of state. Ptolemy king of Egypt, agreed to furnish him with succours; but it was on condition that he sent him his mother and children as hostages. This circumstance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and he often attempted to mention it to her, but could not go forward. She began to suspect that there was something which he was afraid to open to her; and she asked his friends what it might be. At last he ventured to tell her; upon which she laughed very pleasantly, and said, "Was this the "thing which you have so long hesitated to express? "Why do you not immediately put us on board a ship, "and send this carcase of mine where you think it may "be of most use to Sparta, before age renders it good "for nothing, and sinks it into the grave?

When every thing was prepared for the voyage, they went by land to Tænarus; the army conducting them to that port. Cratisiclea being on the point of taking ship, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where seeing him in great emotion and concern, she threw her arms about him, and said, "King of Sparta, take care that "when we go out, no one perceives us weeping, or doing "any thing unworthy that glorious place. This alone is in "our power; the event is in the hands of God." After she had given him this advice, and composed her countenance, she went on board, with her little grandson in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to sea as soon as possible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, she understood that Ptolemy had received ambassadors from Antigonus, and seemed to listen to his proposals; and, on the other hand,

she was informed that Cleomenes, though invited by the Achæans to a pacification, was afraid, on her account, to put an end to the war without Ptolemy's consent. In this difficulty she wrote to her son, to desire him "to do "what he thought most advantageous and honourable for "Sparta, and not for the sake of an old woman and a "child, to live always in fear of Ptolemy." So great was the behaviour of Cratesiclea under adverse fortune.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomenus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now shut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchised such of the *helots* as could pay five Attic *minæ* for their liberty. By this expedient he raised fifty talents; and having, moreover, armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thousand of those *helots* whom he designed to oppose to the *Leucaspides* of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterprise. Megalopolis was at that time as great and powerful a city as Sparta. It was supported, besides, by the Achæans and Antigonus, whose troops lay on each side of it. Indeed, the Megalopolitans were the foremost and most eager of all the Achæans in their application to Antigonus. This city, however, Cleomenes resolved to surprise; for which purpose he ordered his men to take five days provisions, and led them to Sellasia, as if he designed an inroad into the territories of Argos: But he turned short, and entered those of Megalopolis; and after having refreshed his troops at Rhœtium, he marched, by Helicon*, directly to the object he had in view. When he was near it, he sent Panteus before with two companies of Lacedæmonians, to seize that part of the wall which was between the two towers, and which he understood to be the least guarded. He followed with the rest of his army at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but great part of the wall without defence, pulled it down in some places, undermined it in others, and put all the centinels to the sword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes came up, and entered the city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

They were no sooner apprised of the misfortune which had befallen them, than the greatest part left the city, taking their money and most valuable effects with them. The rest made a stand, and though they could not dislodge the

* Lubinus thinks it ought to be Helisson, there being no such place as Helicon in Arcadia.

enemy, yet their resistance gave their fellow-citizens opportunity to escape. There remained not above a thousand men in the town, all the rest had retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before there was any possibility of pursuing them. A considerable part even of those who had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken prisoners. Of this number were Lysandridas and Thearidas, two persons of great name and authority in Megalopolis. As they were such respectable men, the soldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lysandridas no sooner saw Cleomenes, than he thus addressed him: "Now," said he, in a loud voice, because it was at a distance, "now, king of Sparta, you have an opportunity "to do an action much more glorious and princely than the "late one, and to acquire immortal honour." Cleomenes guessing at his aim, made answer; "You would not have "me restore you the town?" "That is the very thing," said Lysandridas, "I would propose. I advise you, by all "means, not to destroy so fine a city, but to fill it with firm "friends and faithful allies, by restoring the Megalopolitans to their country, and becoming the saviour of so "considerable a people." Cleomenes paused a while, and then replied, "This is hard to believe; but be it as it will, "let glory with us have always greater weight than interest." In consequence of this determination, he sent the two men to Messene, with a herald in his own name, to make the Megalopolitans an offer of their town, on condition that they would renounce the Achæans, and declare themselves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes made so gracious and humane a proposal, Philopœmen would not suffer the Megalopolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achæan league*, but assuring them that the king of Sparta, instead of inclining to restore them their city, wanted to get the citizens too into his power, he forced Thearidas and Lysandridas to leave Messene. This is that Philopœmen who afterwards was the leading man among the Achæans, and (as we have related in his life) one of the most illustrious personages among the Greeks.

Upon this news, Cleomenes, who hitherto had kept the houses and goods of the Megalopolitans with such care, that not the least thing was embezzled, was enraged to

* Polybius bestows great and just encomiums on this conduct of the Megalopolitans, l. xi.

such a degree, that he plundered the whole, sent the statues and pictures to Sparta, and levelled the greatest and best parts of the city with the ground. After this, he marched home again, being under some apprehensions that Antigonus and the Achæans would come upon him. They however made no motion towards it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the *rostrum* on that occasion, where he wept a long time, with his robe before his face. They were all greatly surprised, and desired him to speak. At last he said, "Megalopolis "is destroyed by Cleomenes." The Achæans were astonished at so great and sudden a stroke, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made great efforts to go to the relief of the place; but, as his troops assembled slowly from their winter-quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with the forces he had with him.

This made the second enterprise of Cleomenes appear rash and desperate: But Polybius*, on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with great prudence and foresight: For knowing (as he tells us) that the Macedonians were dispersed in winter-quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him, he entered the territories of that city; in the persuasion that either the shame of suffering such an inroad would provoke Antigonus to battle, and expose him to a defeat, or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into disrepute with the Argives. The event justified his expectation. When the people of Argos saw their country laid waste, every thing that was valuable destroyed or carried off, they ran in great displeasure to the king's gates, and besieged them with clamour, bidding him either go out and fight, or else give place to his superiors. Antigonus, however, like a wise and able general, thought the censures of strangers no disgrace, in comparison of his quitting a place of security, and rashly hazarding a battle, and therefore he abode by his first resolutions. Cleomenes, in the mean time, marched up to the very walls, insulted his enemies, and, before he retired, spread desolation at his pleasure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a design to enter Laconia on that side. Upon this emergency, he put his troops under

* Polybius lib. xi.

march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with scythes and sickles, as people usually do, but beat it down with wooden instruments in the form of simitars, as if this destruction was only an amusement to his soldiers in their march. Yet when they would have set fire to Cyllarabis, the school of exercise, he prevented it; reflecting that the ruin of Megalopolis was dictated rather by passion than by reason.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the passes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmost contempt, sent heralds to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might sacrifice to the goddess. After he had pleased himself with this insult on his enemy, and offered his sacrifice under the walls of the temple, which was fast shut up, he led his troops off to Phlius. In his march from thence he dislodged the garrison of Ologuntum, and then proceeded by Orchomenus; by which means he not only inspired this people with fresh courage, but came to be considered by the enemy as a most able general, and a man capable of the greatest undertakings: For, with the strength of the single city to oppose the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponnesians, and all the treasures of the king, and not only to keep Laconia untouched, but to carry devastation into the enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and spirit.

He who first called money *the sinews of business*, seems principally to have had respect to that of war. And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy and get it out, though their treasury was very low, told them, "They must think of baking bread, before "they thought of an embarkation." It is also said that the old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies desired that the quota of each should be determined, made answer, that "war cannot "be kept at a set diet." And in this case we may justly say, that as wrestlers, strengthened by long exercise, do at last tire out those who have equal skill and agility, but not the exercise, so Antigonus coming to the war with vast funds, in process of time tired out and overcome Cleomenes, who could but in a very slender manner pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other respects the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus being drawn home by the bad posture of his affairs: For in his absence the barbarians invaded and ravaged all Macedonia. The Illyrians in particular, descending with a great army from the north, harassed the Macedonians so much, that they were forced to send for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achæans a long farewell: But Fortune, who loves to make the greatest affairs turn upon some minute circumstance, showed on this occasion of what consequence a moment of time may be*. As soon as the battle of Sellasia† was fought, and Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, messengers came to call Antigonus home. This was a great aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no necessity of fighting; and, after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achæans on what conditions he pleased: But such, as we said, was his want of money, that he had no resource but the sword; and, therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thousand men was forced to challenge thirty thousand.

He shewed himself an excellent general in the whole course of the action; his Spartans behaved with great spirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill. His defeat was owing to the superior advantage the Macedonians had in their armour, and to the weight and impetuosity of their *phalanx*.

Phylarchus, indeed, assures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians secretly to fetch a compass, and surround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes,

* Plutarch had this reflection from Polybius.

† Polybius has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The army of Cleomenes consisted only of twenty thousand; but it was advantageously posted. He was encamped on two mountains, which were almost inaccessible, and separated only by a narrow defile. These he had fortified with strong ramparts and a deep fosse; so that Antigonus, after reconnoitering his situation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the plain. At length, for want of money and provisions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action, and was beaten. *Polyb.* lib. xi.

while he was marshalling the rest of his army. Cleomenes taking a view from an eminence of his adversary's disposition, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Acarnanians were posted, and began to fear they were designed for some such manœuvre. He therefore called Damoteles, whose business it was to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the best conjecture he could of the movements they intended. Damoteles, who is said to be bribed by Antigonus, assured him that "he "had nothing to fear from that quarter, for all was safe "in the rear; nor was there any thing more to be done "but to bear down upon the front." Cleomenes, satisfied with this report, attacked Antigonus. The Spartans charged with so much vigour, that they made the Macedonian *phalanx* give ground, and eagerly pursued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king then seeing Euclidas in the other wing quite surrounded, stopped, and cried out, "Thou art lost, my dear brother, thou art "lost! in spite of all thy valour! but great is thy exam-"ple to our Spartan youth, and the songs of our matrons "shall for ever record thee*!"

Euclidas, and the wing he commanded, thus being slain, the victors fell upon Cleomenes, who seeing his men in great confusion, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own safety. It is said that great numbers of the mercenaries were killed; and that of six thousand Lacedæmonians no more than two hundred were saved.

When he reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," said he, "I am willing "either to live or to die, as the one or the other may be "most for the interest of my country." Seeing the women run to meet the few brave men who had escaped with him, help to take off their armour, and present them with wine, he retired into his own house. After the death of his wife, he had taken into his house a young woman, who was a native of Megalopolis, and free-born, but fell into his hands at the sack of the place. She approached him, according to custom, with a tender of her services on his

* He acted like a brave soldier, but not like a skilful officer. Instead of pouring upon the enemy from the heights, and retiring as he found it convenient, he stood still, and suffered the Macedonians to cut off his retreat.

return from the field: But though both thirsty and weary, he would neither drink nor sit down; he only leaned his elbow against a pillar, and his head upon it, armed as he was; and having rested a few moments, while he considered what course to take, he repaired to Gythium with his friends. There they went on board vessels provided for that purpose, and immediately put out to sea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta surrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane, and not unsuitable to the dignity of their republic: For he offered them no kind of insult, but restored to them their laws and polity; and after having sacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He was informed, indeed, that Macedonia was involved in a dangerous war; and that the barbarians were ravaging the country. Besides, he was in a deep consumption, and had a continual defluction upon the lungs. However, he bore up under his affliction, and wrestled with domestic wars, until a great victory over, and carnage of the barbarians made him die more glorious. Phylarchus tells us (and it is not at all improbable), that he burst a vessel in his lungs with shouting in the battle: though it passed in the schools, that in expressing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glorious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the isle of Cythea, where Cleomenes first touched, he sailed to another island called Ægialia. There he had formed a design to pass over to Cyrene, when one of his friends, named Therycion, a man of high and intrepid spirit on all occasions, and one who always indulged himself in a lofty and haughty turn of expression, came privately to Cleomenes, and thus addressed him: "We have "lost, my prince, the most glorious death, which we "might have found in the battle; though the world had "heard us boast that Antigonus should never conquer "the king of Sparta till he had slain him. Yet there "is another exit still offered us by glory and virtue. "Whether then are we so absurdly sailing? flying a "death that is near, and seeking one that is remote. If "it is not dishonourable for the descendants of Hercules "to serve the successors of Philip and Alexander, why "do not we save ourselves a long voyage, by making our "submission to Antigonus, who in all probability, as "much excels Ptolemy, as the Macedonians do the

" Egyptians? But if we do not choose to be governed
" by a man who beat us in the field, why do we take one
" who never conquered us for our master? Is it that we
" may show our inferiority to two, instead of one, by fly-
" ing before Antigonus, and then going to flatter Ptole-
" my? Shall we say that you go into Egypt for the sake
" of your mother? It will be a glorious and happy thing
" truly for her, to show Ptolemy's wives her son, of a
" king become a captive and an exile. No! while we are
" yet masters of our swords, and are yet in sight of Laco-
" nia, let us deliver ourselves from this miserable fortune,
" and make our excuse for our past behaviour to those
" brave men who fell for Sparta at Sellasia: Or shall we
" rather sit down in Egypt, and inquire whom Antigonus
" has left governor of Lacedæmon?"

Thus Therycion spoke, and Cleomenes made this answer: " Dost thou think then, wretch that thou art! dost
" thou think, by running into the arms of death, than
" which nothing is more easy to find, to show thy cou-
" rage and fortitude? And dost thou not consider that
" this flight is more dastardly than the former? Better
" men than we have given way to their enemies, being
" either overset by fortune, or oppressed by numbers:
" But he who gives out either for fear of labour and pain,
" or of the opinions and tongues of men, falls a victim
" to his own cowardice. A voluntary death ought to
" be an action, not a retreat from action: For it is an
" ungenerous thing either to live or to die to ourselves.
" All that thy expedient could possibly do, would be only
" the extricating us from our present misfortunes, with-
" out answering any purpose either of honour or utility.
" But I think neither thou nor I ought to give up all
" hopes for our country. If those hopes should desert us,
" death, when we seek for him, will not be hard to find."
Therycion made no reply; but the first opportunity he had to leave Cleomenes, he walked down to the shore and stabbed himself.

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and sailed to Africa, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was first introduced to Ptolemy*, that prince behaved to him with sufficient kindness and humanity; but when, upon farther trial of him, he found what strength of understanding he had, and that his la

* Ptolemy Euergetes.

conic and simple way of conversing was mixed with a vein of wit and pleasantry; when he saw that he did not, in any instance whatever, dishonour his royal birth, or crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleasure in his discourse, than in the mean sacrifices of complaisance and flattery. He greatly repented, too, and blushed at the thought of having neglected such a man, and given him up to Antigonus, who, by conquering him, had acquired so much power and glory. He therefore encouraged him now with every mark of attention and respect, and promised to send him back to Greece with a fleet and supply of money, to re-establish him in his kingdom. His present appointments amounted to four-and-twenty talents by the year. Out of this he maintained himself and his friends in a sober and frugal manner, and bestowed the rest in offices of humanity to such Greeks as had left their country, and retired into Egypt.

But old Ptolemy died before he could put his intentions in favour of Cleomenes in execution; and the court soon becoming a scene of debauchery, where women had the sway, the business of Cleomenes was neglected: For the king* was so much corrupted with wine and women, that in his more sober and serious hours he would attend to nothing but the celebration of mysteries, and the beating a drum with his royal hands about the palace; while the great affairs of state were left to his mistress Agathoclea and her mother, and Oenanthes, the infamous minister to his pleasures. It appears, however, that at first some use was made of Cleomenes: For Ptolemy being afraid of his brother Magas, who, through his mother's interest, stood well with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a consultation in his cabinet: the subject of which was, whether he should destroy his brother. All the rest voted for it, but Cleomenes opposed it strongly. He said, "The king, if it were possible, should have more brothers, "for the greater security of the crown, and the better "management of affairs." And when Sosibius, the king's principal favourite, replied, "That the mercenaries could "not be depended on, while Magas was alive," Cleomenes desired them to give themselves no pain about that, "For," said he, "above three thousand of the mercenaries "are Peloponnesians, who, upon a nod from me, will be "ready with their arms." Hence, Ptolemy, for the pre-

* Ptolemy Philopater.

sent, looked upon Cleomenes not only as a fast friend, but a man of power; but his weakness afterwards increasing his timidity, as is common with people of little understanding, he began to place his security in jealousy and suspicion. His ministers were of the same stamp, and they considered Cleomenes as an object of fear, on account of his interest with the mercenaries; insomuch that many were heard to say, "That he was a lion among a flock of sheep." Such, indeed he seemed to be in court, where, with a silent severity of aspect, he observed all that passed.

In these circumstances, he made no more applications for ships or troops: But being informed that Antigonus was dead; that the Achæans were engaged in war with the Ætolians; and that affairs called strongly for his presence, in the troubles and distractions that then reigned in Peloponnesus, he desired only a conveyance thither for himself and his friends: Yet no man listened to him. The king, who spent his time in all kinds of bachanalian revels with women, could not possibly hear him. Sosibius, the prime minister, thought Cleomenes must prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt against his will; and that it was not safe to dismiss him, because of his bold and enterprising spirit; and because he had been an eye-witness to the distempered state of the kingdom: For it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the ox Apis, though revelling, to all appearance, in every delight that he can desire, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him, wants to bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure, and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the priest who feeds him; so Cleomenes could not be satisfied with a soft and effeminate life; but, like Achilles,

> Consuming cares lay heavy on his mind:
> In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
> And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul. *Pope.*

While his affairs were in this posture, Nicagoras the Messenian, a man who concealed the most rancarous hatred of Cleomenes under the pretence of friendship, came to Alexandria. It seems he had formerly sold him a handsome piece of ground, and the king, either through want of money, or his continual engagements in war, had neglected to pay him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, saw this Nicagoras just land-

ing from a merchantman, and saluting him with great kindness, asked, " What business had brought him to " Egypt?" Nicagoras returned the compliment with equal appearance of friendship, and answered, " I am " bringing some fine war-horses for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and said, " I could rather have wished " that you had brought him some female musicians and " pathics; for those are the cattle that the king at pre- " sent likes best." Nicagoras, at that time, only smiled; but a few days after he put Cleomenes in mind of the field he had sold him, and desired he might now be paid; pretending, " that he would not have given him any trouble " about it, if he had not found considerable loss in the " disposal of his merchandise." Cleomenes assured him, " That he had nothing left of what the kings of Egypt " had given him;" upon which Nicagoras, in his disappointment, acquainted Sosibius with the joke upon the king. Sosibius received the information with pleasure; but, being desirous to have something against Cleomenes that would exasperate Ptolemy still more, he persuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter, asserting, that, " if the Spar- " tan prince had received a supply of ships and men from " the king of Egypt's bounty, he would have made use " of them in seizing Cyrene for himself." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and set sail. Four days after, Sosibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if just come to his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was resolved that Cleomenes should have a large apartment assigned him, and be served there as formerly, but not suffered to go out.

This was a great affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his prospects still more miserable. Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, who was an intimate friend of the king's, had all along behaved to Cleomenes with great civility; they seemed to like each other's company, and were upon some terms of confidence. Cleomenes, in this distress desired the son of Chrysermus to come and speak to him. He came and talked to him plausibly enough, endeavouring to dispel his suspicions, and to apologise for the king: But as he was going out of the apartment, without observing that Cleomenes followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a severe reprimand, " for looking so carelessly after a wild beast, who, " if he escaped, in all probability could be taken no

" more." Cleomenes having heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon this they all dismissed their former hopes, and, taking the measures which anger dictated, they resolved to revenge themselves of Ptolemy's injurious and insolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, instead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar: For they thought it an insufferable thing that Cleomenes, after he had disdained to come to terms with Antigonus, a brave warrior, and a man of action, should sit expecting his fate from a prince who assumed the character of a priest of Cybele; and who, after he had laid aside his drum, and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of sport in putting him to death.

After they had taken their resolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Canopus, they propagated a report, that, by the king's order, Cleomenes was to be released; and as it was the custom of the kings of Egypt to send those to whom they designed to extend such grace, a supper, and other tokens of friendship, the friends of Cleomenes made ample provision for the purpose, and sent it to the gate. By this stratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined that the whole was sent by the king. Cleomenes then offered sacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and afterwards sat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers should have large portions to regale them. It is said that he set about his enterprise sooner than he intended, because he found that one of the servants who was in the secret, had been out all night with his mistress. Fearing, therefore, that a discovery might be made about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night still kept the guards fast asleep, he put on his military tunic, having first opened the seam of the left shoulder, and rushed out, sword in hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number, and accoutered in the same manner.

One of them, named Hippotas, though lame, at first was enabled, by the spirit of the enterprise, to keep pace with them; but afterwards perceiving that they went slower on his account, he desired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole scheme, by waiting for a man who could do them no service. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading a horse in the street; they took

it, and set Hippotas upon it, and then moved swiftly through the streets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. They had just spirit enough left to praise and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not a man of them ventured to follow or assist him.

Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon him, and dispatched him. Another Ptolemy who was governor of the city, advanced to meet them in his chariot: They attacked and dispersed his officers and guards; and dragging him out of the chariot, put him to the sword. Then they marched to the citadel, with a design to break open the prison and join the prisoners, who were no small number, to their party: But the keepers had prevented them by strongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus disappointed again, roamed up and down the city; and he found that not a single man would join him, but that all avoided him as they would avoid infection.

He therefore stopped, and said to his friends, "It is "no wonder that women govern a people who fly from "liberty;" adding, "That he hoped they would all die "in a manner that would reflect no dishonour upon him, "or on their own achievements." Hippotas desired one of the younger men to dispatch him, and was the first that fell. Afterwards each of them, without fear or delay, fell upon his own sword, except Panteus, who was the first man that scaled the walls of Megalopolis, when it was taken by surprise. He was in the flower of his age; remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the rest of the youth for the Spartan discipline, which perfections had given him a great share in the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to dispatch himself, till he saw his prince and all the rest breathless on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay, lest some one should happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contortion in his face. He therefore kissed him, and sat down by him till the breath was out of his body; and then embracing the corpse, slew himself upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes, after he had been sixteen years king of Sparta, and showed himself in all respects the great man. When the report of his death had spread over the city, Cratesiclea, though a woman of superior

fortitude, sunk under the weight of the calamity; she embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The eldest of them, disengaging himself from her arms, got unsuspected to the top of the house, and threw himself down headlong. The child was not killed, but much hurt; and, when they took him up, he loudly expressed his grief and indignation that they would not suffer him to destroy himself.

Ptolemy was no sooner informed of these things, than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed, and nailed to a cross, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother, and the women her companions. Amongst these was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and a most majestic presence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortunes overtook them amidst the first transports of love. When her husband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, she was desirous of accompanying him; but was prevented by her parents, who kept her in close custody. But soon after she provided herself a horse and a little money, and, making her escape by night, rode at full speed to Tænarus, and there embarked on board a ship bound for Egypt. She was brought safe to Panteus, and she cheerfully shared with him in all the inconveniences they found in a foreign country. When the soldiers came to take out Cratesiclea to execution, she led her by the hand, assisted in bearing her robe, and desired her to exert all the courage she was mistress of; though she was far from being afraid of death, and desired no other favour than that she might die before her children. But when they came to the place of execution, the children suffered before her eyes, and then Cratesiclea was dispatched, who, in this extreme distress, uttered only these words, "O! my children! whither are you "gone!"

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and strong, girt her robe about her, and, in a silent and composed manner, paid the last offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her present circumstances would admit. Last of all, she prepared herself for the poniard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjusting it in such a manner as to need no assistance after death; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other person to approach her, she fell like a heroine. In death she retained all the decorum she had

preserved his life; and the decency which had been so sacred with this excellent woman, still remained about her. Thus in this bloody tragedy, wherein the women contended to the last for the prize of courage with the men, Lacedæmon shewed that *it is impossible for fortune to conquer virtue.*

A few days after, the soldiers who watched the body of Cleomenes on the cross*, saw a great snake winding about his head, and covering all his face, so that no bird of prey durst touch it. This struck the king with superstitious terrors, and made way for the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now persuaded that he had caused the death of a person who was a favourite of heaven, and something more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a son of the gods, till the philosophers put a stop to their devotions, by assuring them, that, as dead oxen breed bees†, horses wasps‡, and beetles rise out of the putrefaction of asses; so human carcases, when some of the moisture of the marrow is evaporated, and it comes to a thicker consistence, produce serpents||. The ancients knowing this doctrine, appropriated the serpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

* That the friends of the deceased might not take it away by night. Thus we find in Petronius's Ephesian Matron. *Miles qui cruces asservabat, nequis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret:* And thus we find in an authority, we shall not mention at the same time with Petronius.

† This was the received opinion of antiquity, as we find in Varro, &c. &c.

‡ Pressus humo bellator equus crabonis origo. *Ovid.*

|| Sunt qui, cum clauso putrefacta est spina sepulchro;
Mutara credant humanas angue medullas. *Ovid.*

The above verses seem to be taken from some Greek lines of Archelaus, addressed to Ptolemy on the subject of serpents being generated from the corruption of the human body.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.